HOW WE GOT TO PEKIN.

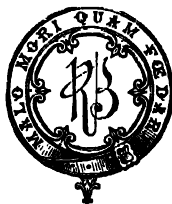
A NARRATIVE OF

THE CAMPAIGN IN CHINA OF 1860.

BY

THE REV. R. J. L. M'GHEE,

CHAPLAIN TO THE FORCES, AND TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE EARL OF CARLISLE.



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DEDICATED,

BY PERMISSION,

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE EARL OF CARLISLE,

BY HIS FAITHFUL AND

GRATEFUL SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

Having had the good fortune to serve with the head-quarters of the expeditionary force in China throughout the whole of the late Campaign, and to be present upon every occasion of interest; and having kept such notes as a man can keep in a bell-tent, or without any tent, in the hot weather in China, I may be excused for saying that I have had as good opportunities of observation, and of recording what I saw, as most men in the force. I have been repeatedly asked by friends to publish some account of the campaign, but do so with some hesitation, on account of my inability to do justice to the subject, not being a military man.

The following pages were written before I was aware that Colonel Wolseley had published his work, or I should never have attempted what he had

undertaken; but my narrative was written under the belief that no connected account of the expedition was in contemplation, and on my return home I had not the resolution to commit my book to the flames.

I have felt it to be in better taste not to bring before the public any especial mention of the working of my own department during the war; not that I do not entertain a full sense of its great importance, or that I am not disposed duly to "magnify mine office;" but because anything that might savour of egotism is to be avoided by all, and especially by one who at all events ought to be a teacher. I say this, because some persons might expect from me a work of a character not so secular.

I have been truly glad to give praise when, in my opinion, it was deserved, and have endeavoured to be silent where there appeared cause for censure; leaving the task of fault-finding to others to whom it may be more grateful than it is to me, being quite aware that a hasty or ill-formed judgment may be, and often is, very unjust, and if promulgated may inflict a wound and an injury which it may never be possible to repair or to heal. No doubt the censorious are a useful class of people; I have no

ambition, however, to share either their pleasures or their toils.

If offence should be given to any person by any thing which is here related, my apology is that it was utterly unintentional.

My narrative has been written without much arrangement or plan; in part, because for this purpose moments were taken from days of anxious occupation, when I was obliged to be contented to put down the recollections that came unbidden at such times; and all who have been in China can testify that the climate often renders it necessary to do as you can, rather than as you would.

DUBLIN,
June, 1862.

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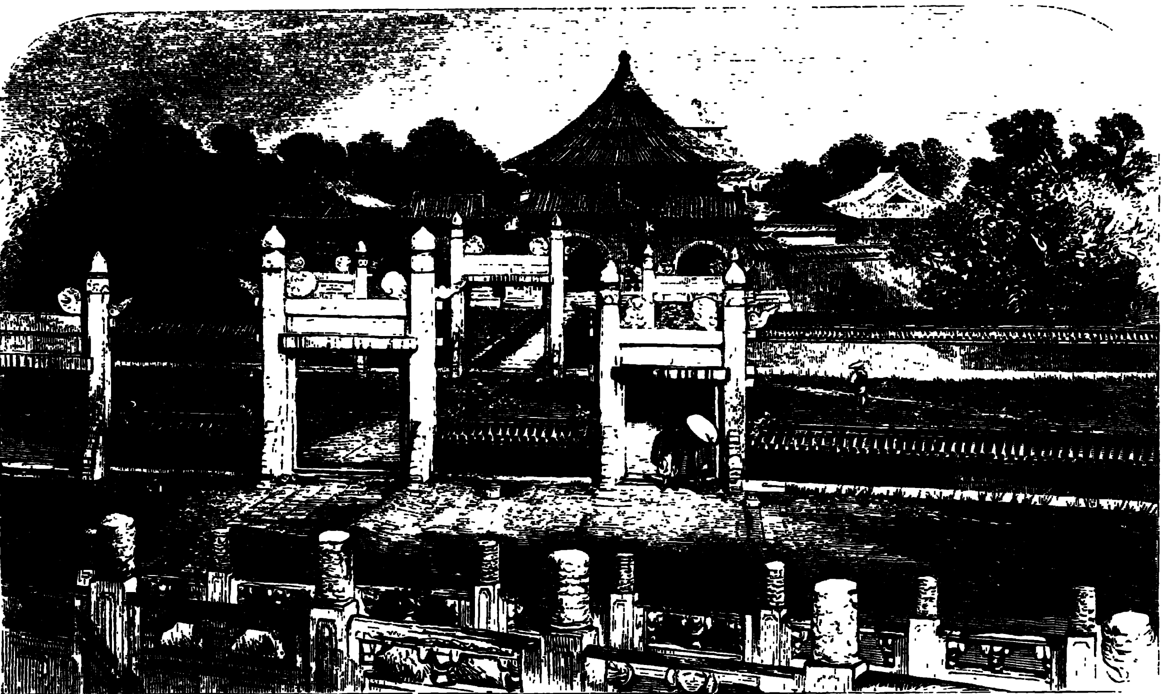
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HOW WE GOT TO PEKIN.

CHAPTER I.

From Home to China—Leaving Home—Malta—Cairo—The Red Sea and its Fruits—Aden—Galle—Passengers—The French—Penang—Singapore—Arrival at Hong Kong.

DURING the last Caffre war, some companies of the second battalion of the Sixtieth Rifles, and a squadron of the Twelfth Lancers, were sent up the country on an expedition without tents or baggage, and a hard time they had of it. It was during the wet season, and one day in a pour of rain, when the men were trying in vain to light their cooking-fires, the following dialogue was overheard between two Light Dragoons.

"The Sergeant-major's words has come true; he says to me the day I volunteered from my old regiment, the Fifth Dragoon Guards, he says to me, as I was leaving the gate of Portobello barracks, in Dublin, 'Jinkins,' he says, 'this is the worst day's work as ever you done in the whole course of your life;' and so it was, I wish I was back again."

"Yes," was the reply from his comrade. "They say in my troop as I'm a bad 'un, and I know any how as I'm a great blackguard, but there's one thing as is a balm to my conscience, and that is, *that I'm not a volunteer.*"

I can enter into the feelings of the Light Dragoon as to volunteering. It is a great point when you find yourself where you would rather not be, if you are able to console yourself with the recollection that "you are not a volunteer." If you are *ordered* anywhere, then it is your duty to go, and to take whatever comes, and make the best of it; the path of duty is in the long run always the best, but if a man volunteers his services, he takes the responsibility of his fortunes upon his own shoulders.

During the winter of 1859-60, I was sitting one evening reading, with a companion, by a comfortable fire, in my quarters at home, feeling very well contented with the world at large and with my own lot, though not without my share of the ordinary trials of life, when the post arrived; I opened one letter, the handwriting of which I knew well as that of a good and firm friend, when, to my dismay, I discovered in the first few lines that I was to join the Chinese expedition (then being organized at Hong Kong) by the Overland route.

If a shell had fallen at my feet through the roof, I could hardly have been more startled. "China for me." I said, holding up the letter; my companion

shut his book and looked up, scarcely less startled than I was; neither of us spoke for some minutes; what a crowd of thoughts and feelings rushed through my mind and heart! I have not forgotten them yet. I felt at once that it was the path of duty for me that I should without hesitation accept the appointment. I had "taken the shilling," and was under orders; and I felt a confidence which is worth a world of human hopes, and overrules all human fears, that the unseen Hand which had guided me in many a difficulty, and had steered my frail bark through more than one troubled sea, was still at the helm; I bowed my head and said, "Thy will be done." And I felt at peace, though sore troubled.

My hardest task was to make light of the matter, to treat it rather as a good joke, a pleasant trip, and so forth, in order to prevent others from exhibiting any signs of sorrow, which would have been difficult to bear. I had some weeks before me yet ere I was to start; I often wished that the time had come, much as I dreaded its arrival.

Like all days, whether good or evil, it came at last, and not long afterwards I found myself on board the 'Valetta,' at Marseilles, and steaming into the Gulf of Lyons, where it was rough enough to make most of the passengers very unhappy; but as sea-sickness is one of those evils from which I am exempt, I had not that additional ill to bear, not that I should have cared in the least about it. I felt too

much alone and broken-hearted to think of any lesser ill. I had a major, a Scotchman, in the same cabin with me, a very good fellow, though a little "cran-key," as the weather got hot (for we stuck together all through to Galle). In three days we arrived at Malta late in the evening; it was dark, and as the anchor was dropped, I heard a well-known friendly voice call out, "Halloa, M'Ghee, where are you?" "Here I am, where are you?" "Here, I've got a boat, come along." My friend had seen my name down as to be expected in the 'Valetta,' and, like a good warm-hearted fellow, had come off to meet me. We rowed across the harbour to the house of another military friend, who was stationed at Malta, and it seemed to look home-like to meet with those from whom I had parted not many months before, at the station where we had been quartered together; but such must military life always be. You are constantly losing your friends, by other means besides the ordinary casualties of this world; still they are not lost altogether, they are sown over every quarter of the globe, and turn up sometimes when least expected, and most wanted. Four hours saw us out of Malta harbour, on our way to Alexandria; we just missed a heavy storm, in which the sister-ship to ours (the 'Vectis') left Alexandria, although no pilot would venture to bring her out, so much for the enterprise of her commander (his brother commanded the 'Valetta');

and she weathered it safely, although her stern was so much damaged that she was obliged to stop at Malta for repairs. At Alexandria it was hot, although but a few days before we had left France, bound in a most severe frost; at Cairo, where we were detained two days, it was hotter still. Our delay arose from a storm in the Red Sea, so violent that our ship could not receive the mails and passengers until it had abated. Of course I was not sorry for the detention, which gave me an opportunity of seeing something of the first Eastern city which I had ever entered. You need not fear, however, my readers, that I am going to inflict upon you a description of Cairo, or any details of the Overland route. Everyone has read a dozen better than I could write; everyone has seen poor Albert Smith's 'China;' and twenty per cent. of the readers of a book of this sort, have had their personal experience of the journey.

Two things however did surprise me very much at Cairo, one was how such very small donkeys, with such very thin legs, could carry such large men, sixteen stone weight; and the other was how several young people going out to India to join the Queen's service there, could make such great asses of themselves, as they did at Cairo and elsewhere; forgetting that they were expected, in the service, to try, if possible, and appear like gentlemen, if they were not really so. But these were what they call in India "Competition Wallahs."

Having been joined by the "Southampton lot," we found a large party when we embarked at Suez; but I think that the two streams from Marseilles and Southampton, although confluent from Suez to Galle, never thoroughly commingled their waters; the Marseilles folk considering themselves the faster of the two, and having the latest papers, and the last bit of club gossip, swaggered a little, while the Southampton people did not appear to see this, and on the other hand looked down upon those who had shirked the Bay of Biscay as not having done the thing thoroughly.

I do not intend to insinuate, however, that there was any bad feeling on board, far from it, all was harmony, except indeed that there was some love, which whether it afterwards reproduced as a lasting fruit that harmony from whence it first sprang, I am not prepared to say; let us hope that it did. If contrasts agree, it must have been all right, the fair one was so *exceeding* fair, her hair was a fiery red (I don't say that I at all dislike the colour myself, particularly as for a year and a half I have seen nothing but the black-haired houris of China), but it *was* red,—the most merciful man in the world could not hint at auburn, and then she had such a profusion of it that it added depth to the colour, which was so warm, that you felt the Red Sea was no place for her; her skin had paid that penalty which fair skins must pay,—it was freckled, and looked like a

diamond edition of a very much faded leopard! Then she was (what the Easterns like so much) very fat, rather short, and some people said "dumpy."

But the "he," who and what was he? He was a parson, and, as I have said, a perfect contrast to the lady,—tall and thin, *very* thin; his hair, if he had had any, would have been black, as you could tell by the "fringe" which surrounded his head; his face managed to raise about two dozen straggling hairs, near the ears, and they looked very weak, as if the soil did not agree with them.

How their loves began I am not prepared to say, unless it was that they sat next each other at table, "propinquity again;" the first I heard of it was one morning on deck, when a lady told me, all in a titter, that "Mr. Billing and Miss Cooing were absolutely engaged!" And true enough, ever after they sat on two stools side by side all day (I hope those stools have not become repentant since), and the session was prolonged until a late hour at night, only interrupted by the breakfast tiffin and dinner-bells; their thoughts must have been very pleasant, as they never seemed to speak to each other; she appeared to be engaged in contemplating the state of the timbers of the ship's deck, and he that of the horizon. This was all a week's work in the Red Sea. Most people would have thought it too hot for any active occupation, but Master Cupid appears to hold most uncontrolled sway over human hearts and destinies,

when the divinities which presided in old times over other employments have been beaten from the field by the force of circumstances, or else are asleep. If idleness be "the mother of mischief," as the proverb says, mischief and love must be brothers.

Aden appeared to me more like the evil part of Hades, as one's imagination paints it, than any other place. Its sterile rocks evidently of volcanic formation, and those innumerable black boys, like imps of darkness, tormenting donkeys, in whose bodies might be supposed to reside the spirits of departed "fools," and the sultry heat favoured the idea. The only difficulty was that the said little demons could bathe and dive for ever in the clear green water, which ought by rights to have been a sea of fire. Everyone landed of course, and everyone came on board again, and everyone was very hot, and no one was at all sea-sick, and the captain was very polite, and the ladies no doubt were all very agreeable, but the only one (the wife of one of the most gallant officers who serves the Queen, she was on her way to India with her husband) who could have charmed away my evil humours fell sick at Suez, and we saw her no more till she came like a ghost from her cabin at Galle.

The sea, I should add, was as polished as the Captain, and the breeze, what there was of it, as agreeable as the ladies, and so we arrived at Galle.

One day at Galle I found quite enough, more particularly as at night I was placed near some "com-

petition wallahs," who were anything in the world but gentlemen; besides Galle is very hot and stifling, and at sea you sometimes have a breeze. I was induced to go to an hotel by a gentleman, who represented himself as "the only white man in Galle who kept an hotel," and he was certainly most polite and considerate, and quite a "jolly companion" to those who liked that sort of thing, singing songs and telling stories after dinner; but if fortunate enough to return home, I think I should try the "Old Mansion-house," as more suitable to steady, quiet folks. I and my Scotch major, and several others of our party, drove out to "do" the cinnamon gardens and the "Wank Wallah," some seven miles from the town, and were amply repaid by the scenery. This was my first introduction to tropical life; and all that I had read of it, and the pictures and illustrations which I had seen, failed to give any adequate idea of its luxuriance, its deep colouring, and the load of varied vegetable life under which the teeming soil must groan as it produces it. Towering above all are seen the tall cocoa-nut trees, laden with fruit, and standing close, as their stem is branchless: underneath, a matted jungle of spice trees and flowering shrubs, rich in varied colours as in fragrance; and on the ground rank grasses, which looked like a green-grounded carpet closely worked in an endless pattern of various coloured flowers, all in harmony, because all the work of God. But you must pay the penalty of such luxu-

riance in nature, by living in a climate unfriendly to European life. For my part I prefer home.

We were followed in our up-hill drive by numbers of boys, offering flowers for sale, and gems of various sorts (of glass); what an unchanging feature "the boys" are in every country and clime! To these pretended stones they gave the various names of beryl, topaz, cats'-eyes, &c., &c.; they were folded up very neatly in white papers, and looked very pretty. My friend the Major was looking at a paper containing fifteen or twenty, for which the undressed urchin asked fifteen dollars; perceiving that the Major did not bite, he came down to seven dollars, when, to get rid of him, the canny Scot offered him a rupee, which, to his intense disgust, was accepted. I rejoiced to see Sandy the knowing overreached by the nigger!

We reached our destination, a summer-house supplied with fruit, &c., and we especially enjoyed the pines, which though cheap were anything but nasty, loitered away an hour or two, and drove back again.

Next day we embarked in a much smaller steamer, which was to take us on to Hong Kong; but our party was greatly diminished, as the larger number of the passengers were bound for Madras and Calcutta.

I was deprived of my old chum "the Major," but his place was very well supplied by a young captain, an aide-de-camp (now, I think, brevet-major); almost all the passengers were military men about to join the expedition, and several of them as good people

as you could meet anywhere. We had also some Russian and some French officers on board, one of the former, a naval captain and aide-de-camp to the Grand Duke Constantine, was one of the most pleasant and gentlemanlike men I ever met.

The "Gauls" were peculiar, one was a young officer, a captain; the other, an older man going out as chief in his own department. They had both come from Marseilles, and although not what is ordinarily termed *sea-sick*, they were extremely *sick at sea* at intervals during the voyage. It was evident to the most casual observer that neither of these gentlemen had been accustomed to the abundant luxuries of the Peninsular and Oriental steamers; they went in, like men, at everything, round the table and back again; the junior carrying on the war with two plates at once, while the senior was contented with one, well filled and frequently replenished. Then came bilious attacks, loss of appetite, starvation, recovery, repletion, and so on. We soon learned what a dangerous thing it was to make inquiry for the colonel's health. "*Ah! mon Colonel, comment se va-t-il ce matin; j'espère que vous vous portez mieux?*" "*Ah! mais non, je vous remercie, je suis bien malade; regardez la langue*" (and instantly his tongue was thrust into your face), "*ah, c'est bien sale, n'est-ce pas?*" I could not help thinking that his manners were the most unpleasant of the two. Fortunately for the rest of the passengers these gentlemen never used the bath-room, so that there

were two less on the morning's list. But the national polish of the French is a world-wide proverb! We had several Parsee merchants from Bombay, bound for Hong Kong, and very nice fellows they were, particularly polite to Englishmen, whose rule in India they praised loudly, and I believe honestly; and we had also some Jews from Calcutta, very much to be liked as intelligent and gentlemanlike companions; and both Jews and Parsees exhibited at least a respect for our religion by asking permission to attend our Sunday morning service. We had altogether representatives of fifteen nations on board, including a Dutchman, who was rather disagreeable.

The captain and ship's officers were not only attentive and polite, as I have invariably found them in the Peninsular and Oriental service, with one solitary exception, but several of them were of families and connections such as you would expect to find rather in the royal navy than in the merchant service; but the Company pays well, and makes liberal provisions of various kinds for its servants, and, as a natural result, it gets an excellent class of man as officers; you meet some, of course, of the "rough and ready" sort, but these are good sailors.

A few hours at that most picturesque spot, Penang, served to break the monotony of the voyage; the hotel was not much of a place, and we did not stay there very long, but drove up to the waterfall, underneath which was a narrow basin where everyone

bathed, and where two officers were very nearly drowned; one who could not swim well having got hold of another and pulled him down. I formed the exception, partly for fear of a very hot sun and partly because the place was small, and I am not overfond of a public bath. The scenery well repaid the drive, it was more picturesque than Ceylon, because the foliage was not so dense, and therefore you could see more. Here, too, I was first introduced to a gentleman whose acquaintance I was destined to cultivate for some time, "Mr. John Chinaman." Penang is quite a colony of Chinese, they are much more numerous than the Malay population; they build houses after their own manner, and occupy miles of streets, planted with rows of trees which form the most delicious shade. I spent some hours in driving to various bungalows in search of an officer belonging to the native regiment stationed there, but having been misdirected by the Madras soldiers and imposed upon by the driver of the carriage, who declared that he knew "the officer Sahib and his bungalow," I was warned by a gun from the steamer to return and left Penang without seeing my friend.

Days wore on in their dull monotony, and Singapore was next hailed as a break in the voyage, where we spent twenty-four hours. We made an incontinent rush to the hotel, and called for *ice* in such a manner as they only can who have been stewed for a fortnight until they are thoroughly done, and

have not tasted liquid below eighty degrees; we ate lumps of ice, and drank sherry-cobblers; we iced our heads and hands and then felt, as Mark Tapley says, "quite equal to having our boots took off." We supped and slept on shore, and were very well taken care of by "Madame Esperanza." I was awakened early in the morning by the sound of horses' feet, and a staff-officer who occupied the same room jumped up, and opening the jalousies called out to the equestrian (without waiting to see who it was), "Get inside, sir, get inside, you'll be much safer in an inside place and with the window up," when, as he leaned out of the window, what was his dismay to discover that he had been "chaffing" his own general! Notwithstanding that the tigers in the woods round Singapore feast upon one Chinaman per diem, destroying three hundred and sixty-five on an average every year, still the Celestials far outnumber everyone else, and are a source of uneasiness to the European mercantile population; they have a separate town, full of business and industry, the streets are wide and the houses good, and it has quite the Anglo-Chinese air which the native part of the town of Victoria, at Hong Kong, has.

On board again, some of us having got a private supply of ice—shame on the Peninsular and Oriental Company—and as many mangosteins as we could procure, a most delicious little fruit which grows in perfection at Singapore, the trees yielding three crops

in the year; five more days, and we reach Hong Kong, the weather fine all through. As we rounded the "green island" into Hong Kong harbour, I was much struck with the similarity of the scenery to that in more than one part of another *green island* at home; the same form of mountain, the same granite rocks and short herbage, recalled painfully and vividly a "lough" where I had spent many a happy day.

CHAPTER II.

Hong Kong—Hospitality of the Troops—Head-Quarters—Kowloong—Rudeness of a Naval Officer—Probyn's and Fane's Horse—Tent pegging—'Siwhan'—The Military Train—The Coolie Corps—Regimental Transport—The 'Happy Valley'—The Cemetery and the Race Course—Jardine's Warehouses—'Poke Fullom'—Admiral Hope—Sir Hope Grant.

As we steamed up the harbour the town of Victoria came in view, stretching along the foot of a mountain for a distance of more than four miles, if you begin at the Chinese town and measure up to Jardine's at East Point; then there are terraces rising over each other up the steep hill-side, and villa residences large and small standing in well laid out compounds, and built in the best English style.

About halfway down the town, but high on the hill, stands Government House, a handsome building; the bishop's residence lower down, to which is attached a Chinese college, is marked by its small round tower. The barracks are of course low down, in a most hot and unhealthy position, and the Commander-in-Chief's house above the barrack, but still not well placed. Then the great mercantile establishments are chiefly near the water, close to the main wharf; on the left is Dent's house, and most kind and hos-



STANLEY, HONG KONG.

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pitable people they are, while Jardine's is far away at the extreme end of the town, and is equally noted for good offices to those who are fortunate enough to be introduced; the club-house, a convenient building, faces the Post-office in the centre of the town, in the Queen's Road; as you land at "Pittar's Wharf" and walk up the short distance from the water to Queen's Road, the right leads you towards the Chinese town, the left to the barrack and the English quarter; but the chief family residences are on the side of the hill, which is all tastefully planted.

I must say that there are few more picturesque or prettier places than the much-abused Hong Kong; it has many of the beauties of Naples upon a smaller scale, and were not the town so situated that no breath of air can reach it during the hot season, I do not think that the climate would be so fatal as it is said to be. It appears now to be felt both by the Government and the residents that "something must be done," so we have got Kowloong, but more of this anon. I cannot bring myself, as some people do, to hate the place; true, I never lived there for any length of time, but it is so pretty that it is hard not to like it; perhaps the hearty reception which I met with from several people whom I had never seen before, and the continued kindness of these new friends lent charms to the place in my eyes which were not its own; I can well believe that it did. I did not know a soul when I landed but two,—one, a field officer in "the Royals," whom I had known in

another batallion, and the other, a staff-officer, Frank Grant, of the 5th Lancers; yet I soon was put up, and had several most hospitable invitations. As to "the Royals," their hospitalities were a proverb, the officers of every regiment that arrived (and they were pouring in pretty quickly) were invited, and made honorary members of the Royals' mess, besides artillery, engineers, and everyone else, so that how they managed to live at their own mess was a mystery to me, but it is just the character of the Old Corps.

The troops were quartered in five places,—the Royals and a Madras regiment at Victoria. At Stanley barracks, about seven miles across the island, the second battalion of the Sixtieth Royal Rifles. At Deep Water Bay, about halfway between Victoria and Stanley, on the right, Desborough's and Govan's Batteries and the King's Dragoon Guards. At Siwan, the Military Train. And the remainder of the forces, at Kowloong. The General Order of the 28th April announced the distribution of the expeditionary force.

"Head Quarters, Hong Kong, April 18, 1860.

"GENERAL ORDERS.

"The following will be the distribution of the Expeditionary Force to take effect from this date:—

FIRST DIVISION.

Major-General Sir J. Michel, K.C.B.
Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Elkington, 6th Foot, Aide-de-Camp.
Captain Green, 77th, Deputy-Assistant Adjutant-General.
Lieutenant Allgood, Bengal Army, Deputy-Assistant Quartermaster-General.
Royal Artillery, Desborough's Battery, Barry's Battery (Armstrong).
Royal Engineers, 18th, Fisher's Company.

1st Brigade.

Colonel Staveley, C.B., with rank of Brigadier.
Captain R. Brooke, 60th Royal Rifles, Brigade-Major.
1st The Royal Regiment, 2nd Battalion, 31st Regiment, Loodiana Regiment.

2nd Brigade.

Colonel Sutton, with rank of Brigadier.
Captain B. von Straubenzee, 9th Foot, Brigade-Major.
2nd Queen's Regiment 2nd Battalion, 60th Royal Rifles 2nd Battalion, 15th Punjaub Native Infantry.

SECOND DIVISION.

Major-General Sir R. Napier, K.C.B.
Captain H. F. Brooke, 48th Regiment, Aide-de-Camp.
Brevet-Major W. Greathead, Bengal Engineers, Aide-de-Camp Extra.
Brevet-Major M. Dillon, Rifle Brigade, Deputy-Assistant Adjutant-General.
Captain W. Hanmer, 87th Regiment, Deputy-Assistant Quartermaster-General.

Royal Artillery.

Mowbray's Battery, Govan's Battery.
Royal Engineers, 23rd, Graham's Company.

3rd Brigade.

Colonel Jephson, with rank of Brigadier.
Brevet-Major Honourable R. Baillie Hamilton, Brigade-Major.
3rd Regiment, the Buffs 1st Battalion, 44th Regiment, 8th Punjaub Native Infantry.

4th Brigade.

Colonel Reeves, with rank of Brigadier.
Brevet-Major M. Walker, V.C., 3rd Regiment, Brigade-Major.
67th Regiment, 99th Regiment, 11th Punjaub Native Infantry, 19th Punjaub Native Infantry.

Cavalry Brigade.

Lieutenant-Colonel Pattle, with rank of Brigadier.
Lieutenant-Colonel B. Walker, 2nd Dragoon Guards, Assistant Quartermaster-General.
1st King's Dragoon Guards, 2 Squadrons.
Probyn's Horse, Fane's Horse.
Royal Artillery, Milward's Battery (Armstrong).

ARTILLERY RESERVE.

Rotton's, Beddingfield's, and Pennycuick's Batteries, Royal Artillery.
2 Batteries, Madras Artillery.

ENGINEER RESERVE.

Head-Quarters and one-half of 8th, Papillon's Company.
Royal Engineers, 2 Companies, Madras Sappers.

(Signed) "By Order,

"FREDERICK STEPHENSON,

"*Deputy Adjutant-General.*"

Far the larger portion of the army was encamped at Kowloong, which is on the main land opposite the town of Victoria, about a mile-and-a-half across the harbour, and although there was no shade, and the sun had full power on the tents, still there was a breeze at some time of the day, which was refreshing, and there were comparatively few men laid up.

Kowloong was quite the fashionable resort of the inhabitants of Victoria. There had never been seen in China anything like the number of troops encamped there, and every afternoon private boats and sanpans were in requisition to bring over visitors to see "the pretty soldiers." A curious scene occurred at the landing place one evening, which illustrates what little gods, or rather great gods, naval people think themselves to be; and how much a man who is in many respects a gentleman, and ought to be one altogether, may forget himself when he permits the pride of office to puff him up.

A gentleman was bringing his wife over to Kowloong one afternoon, and a naval officer of rank, I

shall not otherwise designate him, was approaching the landing place at the same time, overtaking the private boat of the civilian. The civilian landed first, handed his wife to the shore, and walked up the beach. What was his surprise, however, to hear himself accosted in the following style, "Who are you, sir; do you know who I am, sir; how dare you land before me, sir; why did you not wait till I had landed, sir?" and more to the same effect. This to a man (with a lady on his arm), who could not have seen that any person was overtaking him, as he was steering his own boat. The gentleman, for here there was really but one, was too much of a gentleman to answer such seafaring language as it deserved.

Probyn's Horse and Fane's Horse were the objects of greatest attraction, although the Armstrong guns excited a good deal of attention. I never saw anything more gay, and yet thoroughly soldierlike, than those two Irregular Regiments. Probyn's regiment had been embodied much longer than the other, and yet Fane's fellows were just as well drilled and in as good order, although they had only been raised for service in China. The light grey tunic and that most handsome of head-dresses, the turban (Probyn's blue, Fane's red), set off the men to the best advantage, and some of them were not only handsome but noble-looking fellows on horseback,—for they did not seem as if they were ever intended to walk,—their legs were not good and required the large boot to

hide them. They were armed with pistols, carbine, lance, and sword; until I became accustomed to them I could not help speculating as to what sort of people they really were, they looked almost knightly, when tilting with the lance, yet there was clearly a dash of the freebooter about them, so that one was reminded of Byron's criticism on William of Deloraine, "not quite a robber, yet but half a knight." Of the officers commanding both these regiments there was but one opinion in China, as there had been but one in India,—that they were two of the finest fellows in the service, and you could hardly avoid finding it out by looking at them.

Probyn, tall but not slight, with a fine manly figure, a head of almost classic beauty, and a countenance in which gentle softness of character was so blended with manly firmness, that you could not say which had the advantage; and when you knew him and spoke to him, the charm of his manner was not to be resisted; but if you want to see him to advantage look at him mounted on that exquisite arab, the chesnut, which, small as he is, has got such shapes and breeding that he bounds along under his rider with perfect ease, while his master yields to every motion with such grace that horse and man seem one.

Fane is not so tall, his heavy moustache and beard almost hide the lower part of his face, and give him a very soldierly aspect, while a bright blue eye shines out above, full of intelligence and kind-

ness, and of humour too. I have heard that Walter Fane is considered one of the handsomest men in India, and I can well believe it; he is an accomplished musician and draughtsman, a most agreeable companion, and the efficiency of his newly-trained corps throughout the campaign proves him to be, what he has long been known to be in India, a first-rate cavalry officer. He and Watson of the Irregular Horse are both a standing reproach to our system. They are both subalterns in their own regiments, and therefore cannot get (according to the rules of red tape) any reward for their services, until they shall have become regimental captains. They have been both selected for important cavalry commands; Watson and Probyn won each their Victoria Cross in the same campaign, Watson then being senior, but Probyn having become a captain, received his brevet, while Watson has got nothing but that bronze cross, which he so well merits. Why is it, when the late Charles Nasmyth, of Silistria, was taken from the Bombay Horse Artillery as a subaltern, and made a substantive major at home, with a staff appointment (all of which he richly deserved), that such men as Fane and Watson are left for years unrewarded, while men of no comparative worth are getting over their heads, and are thus acquiring claims for command which the best men ought to have if the good of the service was really kept in view. They are both men who look rather to earn promotion than to reap it; there are hundreds who,

with half their claims would have wrung from the Horse Guards rewards which have been so honestly earned, but are still withheld.

The junior officers of both these regiments were evidently well up to their work, and about as nice a set of fellows as you could meet with in the army,—and there was not a lady in Victoria, who did not turn out to see the "tent-pegging," and other exercises which were as novel as they were interesting. But to describe the tent-pegging to the uninitiated. A tent-peg is hammered into the ground, and the object is to fasten your lance in it so firmly, as you ride past at full speed, that you shall carry it off, and a very difficult feat it is to accomplish; it is no easy matter to strike the peg at all, and if you do, the shock is so great as to carry your lance round, as you must ride at it with your lance trailed and grasped about the centre, leaning well over to the right, and unless you are very expert, a stunning blow on the head or a dislocated wrist are likely to prove your rashness, rather than your skill; in spite of these dangers ten or twenty officers and sowars enter the lists; Probyn leads off, hits the peg but does not draw it up; half-a-dozen sowars follow, some miss it, some touch and splinter it; one fellow's horse runs clean away with him, knocks over half-a-dozen Chinamen, and is lost in a cloud of dust; at last an old Sikh rides at it like the wind, shouting his war-cry, and hauls the peg aloft on the point of his lance. Again the officers take up the game, and

prove in the long run their superior skill in the use of their weapons; this superiority in such exercises is a most valuable adjunct to the officers who have the command of such troops, as it gives them a personal weight and influence with their men, which tends alike to secure subordination and to inspire confidence in their leaders in the hour of danger. If we ever should be involved in war anywhere in the regions of Egypt or Syria (which is not impossible), I am certain that such troops as those two regiments would do most efficient service, and probably be more than a match for any cavalry that we should have to encounter, while their transit from India would be an easy matter.

But we must leave the tent-pegging and the ladies, reluctant though we be, and there are some ladies at Victoria who would grace in every way any society at home, to take a glance at some of the preparations being made to spend that nice little sum of how many millions!

I ride out to "Siwhan," some six miles east of Victoria, where there is a tumble-down barrack, built as a "sanatory station," only that it was found to be a few degrees more fatal than the barrack at Victoria, and therefore has been disused; now the First Battalion Military Train, just arrived from Aldershott, are quartered there. All round the barrack and in the valley are hundreds of ponies from Manilla and Amoy, and bullocks from India and Amoy. The handsome little bullocks are too fat for

work, and many of them dying of rapid internal disease, and the ponies as wretchedly thin as they well can be. I find that all these animals have been bought for baggagers, but that there are no men to look after them, the small number of Europeans in the battalion (a large percentage being laid up from overwork, I saw one man on the road that day struck down by the sun, he was dead the next) was perfectly inadequate to even feed and water the animals under their charge, and they had no aid except that of a few Manilla men and Madrases whom they had picked up at Hong Kong. There was no proper provision made for feeding these animals, and in consequence the larger portion of their food was trampled upon, and they were living and dying the most unserviceable-looking beasts I ever saw. I am not an ardent admirer of that Corps, nor of the officer whom I saw in command at Siwhan, but I hope that I like fair play better than most things, and I maintain that it is not fair or just to say that the Military Train "broke down" during the campaign, when they never had a chance of doing anything else. It was utterly impossible, undermanned and overstocked as they were, that they should not break down, and therefore let the right horse or horses, whoever they may be, be saddled in this case. But if you give one man the work of twenty, you must not blame him if it is not done; yet this was the chief reason why the Military Train broke down; there was also a lengthened

contest between the Train and the Commissariat as to whether the latter was to command the former or not. I do not pretend to decide upon the rights of the question, but until it was settled, of course there was much confusion.

Then there was the Chinese Coolie corps, organized very well by Major Temple, and officered from regiments, 9*s.* 6*d.* staff-pay being held out as an inducement to officers to leave their own regiments and undertake the dirty work of looking after Chinese Coolies. The Military Train received a considerable addition to its officers in the same way, but I look upon this system of providing extra officers for that Corps as very defective, and for more than one reason; the best men will prefer to remain in their regiments, and will be kept there, and in the transport service, when there is so much peculiar and unpleasant work to be done, and the glory is of such a quiet character, that it does not stimulate men to extra exertion, it is hardly to be expected that volunteers who have no interest in that branch of the service, and who desire chiefly 9*s.* 6*d.* per diem, will take much trouble to learn their duties, or use the same exertions to fulfil them, as officers who have the credit of their corps to support; and thus there are a number of men put to discharge most important duties, which they do not particularly care about learning or performing, and men wonder that the scheme does not succeed.

With the Coolie corps it was different, it was

entirely a new thing; there was no other way of starting it, and its duties, though laborious, were of a much less complicated nature than those of the transport service. That body requires a thorough reorganization; it is useless as it at present exists, for active service, and we should either do away with it and trust to luck, as we did in the Crimea, and largely too in China, or else reorganize it upon an efficient scale; at present every guinea that it costs is thrown away. For the cavalry I am certain that a system of regimental transport would be found to answer very well; light and strong carts could always be horsed and driven by animals and men not quite fitted for other duties, and even if this were not practicable for the heavier baggage of the Dragoons, what a deliverance it would be if some of those stones' weight of blankets and kit which bring our "light" Dragoon up to twenty or twenty-one stone in the saddle, were transferred to light carts which could always be up with their regiment. Let anyone say if it would not be worth a trial to relieve our troop-horses of four or even two or one stone each. A man who rides fourteen stone to hounds must pay a good price for a good horse, and does not use him more than three times a fortnight for six months, that is, about six-and-thirty days' work in the year; while a troop-horse, which costs 30*l.* or 40*l.*, is required to carry half as much again, and to do it day after day; and on service to work harder than a hunter. No fox-hunter would risk his neck thus, nor ought

those vastly important duties, which belong to the cavalry, to be risked any longer; the changes which have been made in modern warfare, the great range and accuracy of both guns and rifles, demand that we should have some really light horse, who could move with speed and endure fatigue, which no baggage animal, as our present Light Dragoon trooper is, can do. If there must be some men condemned to ride twenty-one stone, have it so, and let their duties be such as men riding that weight can perform. Often have I seen, and sighed to see, such horses as those in the old Third Light Dragoons and the Fifth Royal Irish Lancers condemned to be beasts of burthen; those highly-bred wiry horses of the newly raised Fifth, better than which money could not have purchased in the United Kingdom, if they were only put to carry what they are equal to carry well, what work could they not do! Often have I watched the regiment with mingled pain and pleasure, drilling so beautifully, but under such difficulties as it appeared to me, and wished that I could only fashion it according to my own ideas.

Out in the direction of "Siwhan," that barrack where the Military Train was quartered, is one of the drives which the inhabitants of Victoria rejoice in. At the southern end of the town you descend a gentle slope, the road on both sides tastefully planted, and before you on the right lies the "Happy Valley," running up into a narrow gorge in the mountains, down which a clear stream of sparkling

water rushes. A curious place this "Happy Valley:" to look at, it is charming, and the stranger exclaims, "How lovely! how I should like to live here!" Would you? Look at that handsome villa at the head of the "Valley," and halfway up the hill you can see, if you put up your glass, that it is deserted and going to ruin; not a soul in it. The builder thought as you think, and built that nice house for himself, but he died there; and the next occupant and the next shared the same fate; so "Happy Valley" was no more used as building ground.

But these people had not far to go to their last resting-place, for the cemetery is in "Happy Valley," and a sad thing it is to walk through it, and to see how many of England's sons have been doomed to leave their bones far away on a foreign shore; cut off in the midst of manhood and of vigour, compelled by the stern necessities of the service to a clime so unfriendly to European life. The polite circumlocution used at Victoria for that hated verb *to die*, has thus become, "to go to Happy Valley." "Did you see how ill Thompson looked to-day, he has been getting worse and worse for some time past; if he doesn't get home sharp, he'll go to 'Happy Valley.'"

The wall of the cemetery bounds the Hong Kong Race-course, and the Grand Stand, which is the scene of so much gaiety during the race week, is just outside its gate; one cannot help wishing that it was

somewhere else, and although there is no fear that the slumbers of the departed will be disturbed by the shout that "Blue wins," still it is scarcely decorous that Jollity and Death should have their temples so close together. The race week at Hong Kong is the week of the year, and keen is the contest for the great races which is carried on by the leading merchants at Victoria. No expense is spared to procure good horses, the best arabs are brought from India, and good second or third-rate horses are brought out from England at great expense and risk, and strings of them are daily seen at exercise, proving how John Bull carries his national tastes with him wherever he goes, nor grudges to spend the dollars which are earned at Hong Kong, truly "in the sweat of his face," in the gratification of them. We may well hope that as the racing there must be altogether in the hands of *gentlemen*, it is free from those evils which disgrace the turf so much at home. One year one great "House" wins, a fresh horse from England is the victor; but before next February another "House" has got out another horse, which proves himself better, and the next year a "dark animal" comes down from Shanghai (where the same sport is carried on), perhaps a "Waler," and beats them both. Far be it from me to say that such excitement, when honest, is unlawful or unhealthy, or to wish its promoters anything but success, so long as they run fair, and don't gamble.

Leaving then the beauteous but deceptive "Happy

Valley" on our right, with its cemetery and race-course and wooded mountains beyond, we arrive at the handsome house and warehouses of Jardine and Co., which lie to the left of the road, between it and the east-end of the harbour. These gentlemen have their own pier and village for their workmen, and their own guard of Indian troops, all armed and drilled and walking sentry, in regular military style, and very necessary they are, as the pirates and robbers in China are very daring, and the plunder of "Jardine's" would be a rich bait to their cupidity, and a descent upon this extreme end of the town in their fast-sailing junks would be by no means impracticable; while the island is filled with the very worst characters in the south, many of whom have made it their abode, in order to escape from justice threatened by their own magistrates on the main land. Thus, in the native town at the other end of Victoria, you see the roofs of the houses covered with large stones as weapons of defence against robbers, who frequently make night attacks on their countrymen in spite of a numerous Indian police. One of these occurred during my short stay there, in which several lives were lost, and the robbers all got off.

The road winds along the margin of the strait, for about two miles beyond this, and if there is anything of a northern breeze here, you will meet the rank, beauty, and fashion of Victoria taking their evening drive or ride, in carriages of all sorts, from the Lon-

don britscha of the Governor, down to the buggy or waggon of the storekeeper. If, on the other hand, the wind is south, you must go out in the opposite direction on a new road towards 'Poke Fullom,' made under the able directions of the Hon. G. Cleverly, the Government surveyor, to whom Victoria owes all its present beauty and convenience. This road is much higher, being cut in the mountain side, and from it you look down the granite cliffs upon the deep still water beneath. There is Mrs. M. taking her evening ride; how well she looks, how gracefully she sits her horse, and her figure is seen to advantage in the plain riding-dress. That cunning old fox, Colonel ——, her namesake, is riding beside her.

But what a contrast comes down the road! Another "party" riding, and another Mrs. M., a military "party" this time, bumping along full canter, well out of the saddle every step, and down again with a thump that you hear twenty yards off; well forward and hanging on to the near side of the pony, I cannot say that she *sits*, without an abuse of terms, nor yet can I call the arrangement between her and the horse *riding*. Yet somehow they get along, to the no small amusement of all beholders. I suppose that if no one made themselves ridiculous there would be too little for the world to laugh at. This place, which bears the name of Poke Fullom, is in my opinion much the most desirable part of the island of Hong Kong: it is near the south-west extremity of the

island, high above the sea, and open to every breath of the southern monsoon which blows in the hot season, and between three and four miles from the town. One house alone has been as yet built there, which is chiefly used for picnic parties, as it would be unsafe to live there unless there were a number of residents, who could afford each other mutual protection. I cannot but think that if the wealthy inhabitants would build here, and abandon the town except for business hours during the hot months, that the health of the colony would improve by a large percentage. I always felt the better for an afternoon's ride there, as there was a freshness in the air which I did not find in any other part of the island.

I would be glad, as I have said before, to think as well as possible of Hong Kong,—it has great natural beauties; the path to Stanley Barracks, which runs from the head of the Happy Valley across the mountains, is full of beauty, and resembles the highlands of Scotland and Ireland; were it more planted its charms would be multiplied tenfold, and by the increase of the few deer which it still holds, it would become a noble forest. The hills are green and afford good pasture in many places, the valleys are watered with the purest streams, while the granite rocks give boldness and grandeur to the scene. I wish Hong Kong was not in China. But for good or ill we must soon leave it for the north, as everything is now nearly ready, and the troops already named

for the expeditionary force are being embarked. Admiral Hope has made all the naval arrangements with great skill, and has brought to bear all his energies of mind and body (and both are undoubtedly of a high order) upon his work: he looks into every detail himself, and goes through as much work as would kill most men six times over. Doubtless he is determined that, as far as he can, there shall be no failure this time: and from what I have seen of him I should say that he was one to whom, if England's navy ever wants a Commander-in-Chief, the honour of the country might be safely committed. It is from no feeling of personal liking that I have come to this conclusion; true, I have been introduced to him, but he makes it a point never even to return the salute of a military officer; and this in so marked a manner, that we soon learned never to salute him. He is a tall and large man, of commanding appearance and a handsome face; and as brave a sailor as ever trod the deck.

Sir Hope Grant looks quite the cavalry soldier; his figure rather tall and slight in form, active and well-knit, and he sits that grey Arab pony, his favourite and a perfect picture, with the ease and grace of a finished horseman; his bit is severe, but his hand is light, and the little horse moves with full confidence. The General seems about fifty years of age, but as fresh and full of work as a man of thirty. His face usually wears a pleasant expression, and his manners are easy and affable; but there is

a look about his mouth which suggests to you that his lips are often compressed, and seems to show an under-current of stronger feelings than those which usually appear on the surface. His high principle and kindness of heart are only really known to those who have been intimately acquainted with him; and I have seldom, if ever, met a man who had in the same degree the art of attaching to himself those who had served under him. His successful career in India is too vividly before the public mind, that I need speak of it. It is no mean praise to say that he shines in private as in public life, and his face never wears a happier expression than when, after his day of toil, he solaces himself with his violoncello, of which he is a perfect master, and draws forth from it sounds which, if you have a soul for music, will float for many a day in the ear of your memory, especially if you hear him play some of his own compositions His courteous treatment of all, and the total absence of anything like self-assertion in his manner, could not but be favourably contrasted with the demeanour of the other chief.

CHAPTER III.

The Loss of the Transport 'Assistance'—Shanghai—The Native Boat—'Chow Chow' Water—The Church Mission—The Native Town—Jesuit College—Pigeon English—The American Mission and Miss Fay—Religion in China.

EVERYBODY has been embarked and shipped off, and that without any accident but one, the loss of the screw transport 'Assistance;' she was run upon a rock near the shore, between Victoria and Deep Water Bay at the back of the island. The rock was unknown, and her captain was, I believe, acquitted of all blame. No lives were lost, but she sank very rapidly with all her stores; and a number of the Hong Kong coolies whom she was to carry to the north, and who had received an advance of pay, took the opportunity of bolting in the confusion when they landed. So on Monday, the 11th of June, the Commander-in-Chief and the staff left Hong Kong, having seen everyone else off; the northern monsoon was still blowing, and so strong was it as to cause part of the transport fleet to anchor for some days, unable to beat up against it; the south monsoon is in theory supposed to blow from April to September or October, but north of Hong Kong I

do not myself believe in it. Some of our force has been already established in the north at Chusan; the General had left Hong Kong on a former expedition on the 31st of March in the screw steam-clipper 'Granada,' which was taken up from the Peninsular and Oriental Company for his use during the campaign (and on board of which I sailed), and arrived at Shanghai on the 6th of April. Not a very interesting place this said Shanghai except to those gentlemen who are engaged in making the "almighty" dollar. The settlement is built upon the left bank of the Woosung river, about eight miles from its confluence with the Yangtse-kiang, into which it flows from the south. And above the European settlement, on the same side of the river, lies the ancient Chinese city of Shanghai.

There is a sharp bend in the river, at which a small river, crossed by a wooden bridge, enters it on the left side; here lies the American quarter. Next, and above it, comes the English with the ambassador's residence, a plain house standing in a moderate-sized compound, poorly planted, and with very yellow grass growing on it, discoloured for want of draining; then along the Bund at the river-side come the British merchants' residences, Dent's and Jardine's, of course, and all the rest; then France, and Prussia, and Russia fly their flags at their several consulates, and numbers of boat-piers are run out into the river. The native boat, or "saupan," here differs from that at Hong Kong. Here it is propelled by a large scull

from the stern, which works with very little friction on the rounded head of an iron pin, fitting into an iron cup imbedded in the oar; while at Hong Kong oars are used, and women row the boats as frequently as men; here men only work in the sanpans. These she-sailors at Hong Kong live in their boats, and their children are reared there from their birth. While the mother pulls her oar, "the baby" sits beside her at the edge of the boat, so near the water that you feel a little nervous lest he should topple over into "the briny;" but not he, he is a knowing little fellow. I have seen one a year old or so, who could hardly stand, get up, steady himself by the oar, and begin to row along with his mother, facing her, he leaning forward as she pulled; and then when his exertions had somewhat fatigued him, proceed to refresh himself from that source with which Nature had provided him, and lie down to sleep, while the boat was going at full speed all the time.

Woe to the unlucky wretch who falls into the river at Shanghai. The sudden bend of the stream, the river or creek which meets it, and the strong tide, combine to cause a number of rapid and contrary currents and under-currents, known in China as "Chow Chow water," and it is generally certain and sudden death even to the best swimmer,—he never rises. A somewhat ludicrous story is told in China upon this subject:—A lady, with her husband and a little boy, her son, was landing in a boat at Ningpo; while on board ship she had heard of this "Chow Chow

water," and learned of course to dread it, and it happened unfortunately that by some means the boat was upset, and the whole party immersed in the water, which luckily was not "Chowchow." This fact, however, she did not know; her dress kept her afloat, but she exclaimed at once, "Oh my leg, my leg!" (she was not a Yankee) "that dreadful Chow Chow water, it has got a hold of my leg, I feel it pulling me down; oh my leg, my leg!" When what was her surprise, to find almost in a moment the Chow Chow water creeping up and up, and at last emerging beside her in the shape of her own little boy, who had caught as he was coming to the surface at the first thing he came across, as drowning little boys will; and as the whole party escaped with a ducking, the accident turned into a rather good joke. If it had happened at Shanghai, the result would most probably have been very different. Add to the danger of the water, that the sanpans (or three-plank boats, as their name signifies, one for the flat bottom and one for each side) are very easily upset, and you will find that boating at Shanghai is neither safe or pleasant. I myself am quite of the opinion of the old gentleman who declared that "he had never seen a *pleasure* boat in all his life."

The American and European settlements have a frontage of about a mile-and-a-half on the river, and the depth is about half-a-mile; roads run through all this at right angles, they are tastefully planted, and the houses stand in compounds, planted also, and

there are numerous "stores" where you can buy everything you can want, but no man will open his mouth under "a dollar," if it is only for a needle and thread or a piece of twine. You must pay from three to six times the price of every article at home, for people will not live in China unless they are well paid for it, and I am not surprised.

There is an English church, for which as a building I cannot say much; I believe there is a crack in it somewhere, and I am not sorry, as they will have to build another. The singing and music are excellent, and the service in every way well performed by the colonial chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Hobson. His wife takes an equal interest with him in the Church Missionary School for the natives, and everything else that is good, and I feel certain that it is not owing to any want of either skill or zeal on their part that the mission is not in a more flourishing condition when compared to either the Jesuit or American. The former is about seven miles from Shanghai, and little as I like the folk, it is, I must admit, most creditable to them. The French priests are shaved and dressed like Chinese, and of course speak the language well, and they had some seventy youths under instruction when I visited the place; some of them were baptized converts and others were catechumens, some being simply instructed in Chinese literature, of which the priests were tolerable masters; the chapel, dormitories, refectory, and school-rooms were all clean and

in character. The students seemed happy and cheerful, and were instructed in various arts, such as modelling in clay, sculpture, wood-carving on our designs, painting, and music, and you left the place with the impression that the work was well done, little as you might like the doers of it, who were nevertheless as civil and obliging as could be; but one loses some of one's religious animosities living in a heathen land. Our good General even, who has all the instinctive horror of "holy water" which a strictly religious Scotchman is likely to have, could not refuse to use the "aspersorium" at the funeral of the French officers at Pekin, and to sprinkle the coffins of the departed with his own hand. Talking of "holy water," it froze so hard at Tientsin in the winter of '60–'61, that the Roman Catholic chaplain to the forces there complained that the holy water froze while he was saying mass, and became of no use, and applied to the Deputy-Assistant-Quartermaster-General for a stove to keep it in a fluid state. I could not help telling him, when he related the circumstance to me, that I thought if he had tried the "holy ice" it would have been something new, and perhaps might prove itself just as efficacious. This Jesuit College at Shanghai has, I have heard, been since visited by the rebels, and several of the priests put to death; whether this was done in the zeal of these people as Iconoclausts or not I have not heard.

The country round Shanghai is a dead level of

rich land and highly cultivated, though the crops are not clean, I mean not free from weeds; one is painfully reminded by the stench which pervades every field that they are very unclean in another sense, owing to the free and constant use of liquid manure by the farmers. I visited the Roman Catholic cathedral in the native town near the river, and examined all the pictures, but I could not see the Blessed Virgin with small feet, and I believe that such a picture does not exist there.

The native town lies higher up the river than the settlement and on the same side. It is walled, surrounded by a wet ditch, and there are some wall pieces, in very indifferent order; here and there were a good many heads of Chinamen hanging up in baskets near the gates as a warning to other evil-doers: it is not a hundred years since the same thing was done at home. As the rebels had taken and plundered the place some years before, I was prepared to find it in not a very flourishing condition, but I was not prepared for the abominations which I encountered in the form of evil smells and sights; the attempt to describe them would be useless, and could I bring them before you it would only be to make you as sick as I was myself, and I don't see the use of that. Plenty of tobacco smoke was the only antidote, and perhaps that is one reason why the Chinese themselves smoke so constantly; I wish some philanthropist would introduce the use of peat, charcoal, or some equally good deodoriser into the country.

There was a guard of imperial soldiers at each gate; they were civil enough, and I examined their arms which were of a wretched description,—old rusty matchlocks, spears, very harmless swords and gingals; these last were the most formidable of their weapons. The gingal is like a large duck-gun,—there is a tripodal stand for it, and two men are required to manage it and carry it. The man who fires it is invariably knocked down by the recoil, but it carries a very long distance and throws one or more large balls. The natives at Shanghai are very confident that we shall be beaten away from the Takoo forts, so also are the Canton and Hong Kong people; one guild of Chinese merchants at the former place is said to have offered to back their opinion to the amount of ten thousand dollars; and when reminded that we had taken Canton, their answer was, "Ah! that Mongo too muche topside, no all same Canton man," which translated from "pigeon" into real English means, that the Mongolian soldier of the north was not like the Canton soldier.

This pigeon English which you find spoken at every port in China, I may as well explain for the benefit of the unlearned, means *business* English, or English in which business is transacted between the European and the native, as "pigeon" is the nearest approach which a Chinaman can make to the word "business." I have tried them over and over again and I never could get one to pronounce the word

business; the pronunciations and idioms of "pigeon" are peculiar, you must generally add an "ey" to words ending in a consonant, and in enumerating it is necessary not to speak of one, two, &c., but you must say "one piecey," as, "my wantchey two piecey cooliceman, makey carry four piecey boxey." Some classical scholar undertook to translate "My name is Norval" into pigeon, something in this wise:—"My calley Norvaley, topside that Grampian mountey my father bringey sheep makey catchey chowchow, he too muchey likey that dollar, no wantchy my go for makey that soldierman," &c. I feel inclined to suspect that a good deal of our Chinese is much of the same character.

I was much pleased with the American Mission schools which I saw at Shanghai, especially those conducted by Miss Fay (I hope I spell the lady's name correctly); I never met anyone more fitted for the position which she holds. Her thorough acquaintance with the subject, whatever it may be, helps to give an ease and force to her instructions which facilitates the process of learning very much, and it was quite a treat to hear her first class of boys demonstrating a difficult problem of Euclid in excellent English. Then the girls learn amongst other things music, and sing both sacred and profane songs very sweetly, accompanied by one of their own number on an harmonium. The Chinese classics Miss Fay has made herself so far mistress of, that one of her pupils had been successful in the Chinese competi-

tive examinations, and had become a mandarin, and was then from his knowledge of English attached to Sankolinsin, the great Tartar Commander-in-Chief, as a sort of military secretary, which illustrates the lady's acquaintance with the writings of Confucius and Menchius. Nor was the most important of all knowledge, that of God and the Saviour of mankind, neglected, while of course nothing in the shape of coercion was used; but there is far less of opposition in the Chinese mind to the truths of Christianity than in that of any other nation.

The Chinaman is very intelligent and is not particularly devoted to any form of religion, except the honour rendered to ancestors, and that can hardly be called a worship. Buddhism is most wide spread, that came to China from the west, Mahometanism also, and both are therefore foreign to the soil; but then the teacher of true religion has to contend against a gross materialism and devotion to this life, which is perhaps as great a foe to practical Christianity as the most determined bigotry in any form of heathenism. In the one case you have a soil to till in which the seed-weeds and root-weeds are so numerous and so rank, that the good seed has hardly a chance in contending with them for its possession; pluck them out as you will, they grow again and again, and nothing but a perfect fallow appears to promise a crop in the distant future; but in the other case you have a ground unoccupied indeed, but it is because it is such a hard, stiff, unyielding *clay* that it will not produce even

weeds of itself, and those few that grow have little root. John Chinaman is not at all of a religious turn of mind, he very seldom goes to "Chin-chin," or pays his respects to his peculiar divinity, while to the goods, pleasures, and profits of this life he pays an unremitting devotion.

I remember finding a handsome little shrine in a Chinese house where I paid a visit at Shanghai, and on inquiry I found that it was sacred to the "god of wealth," and the owner told me with hearty laughter that "he worshipped him very much;" I believed him. We have constantly occupied their temples, and they never seemed to care much about it, and only in some cases took the trouble to remove their deities; not that we generally disturbed their very ugly images, although I have seen a statue of Confucius at Canton forced to smoke a very short clay pipe, which he did not seem to like; that was in the quarters of the gallant 87th, who were, by-the-by, greatly disgusted that they did not form a part of the expeditionary force, having been hurried off from India at a moment's notice, on the promise of active service; that Eagle which they so gallantly won, and wear, was supposed by some of us to have stood now in their way, as it might not be a pleasing reminiscence for our allies. I am happy for their sakes that they have gone to a better place than North China, dear old Ireland.

CHAPTER IV.

Leave Shanghai—Chusan—Our Allies—Pootoo—Beauty of the Scenery—Buddhist Temples—Hong Kong—Talenwhan—The Fleet—The Scenery—Heat and Drought—Difficulty in procuring Country Produce.—Confusion amongst the Supplies—The Shooting of the Neighbourhood—Our Ride from Victoria Bay to Odin Bay—The Soldier's best Friend—Hand Bay—Hangkow—The Chief Mandarin.

ON Wednesday, the 18th of April, we left Shanghai in the 'Granada' and anchored down the river at the "Ruggeds," and the next day reached "Kintang," which was the rendezvous for the Chusan expedition. We found that the 67th regiment had already arrived, also the 'Adventure,' with some marines and artillery. On Friday the 99th arrived, and early on Saturday morning the little fleet set sail for Chusan, led by Admiral Jones in the 'Impérieuse.' The Chusan group are pretty and for the most part fertile islands, and at about eleven o'clock the Admiral dropped anchor opposite the town of Ting-hai, in an excellent harbour, but the tide is so strong that it is sometimes difficult to manage small boats. Mr. Parkes, C.B., went on shore and brought off the two chief mandarins, civil and military, to the 'Granada,' when Sir H. Grant had an interview with them, explained his

views as to the occupation of the island and demanded the surrender of some guns which were mounted in a fort commanding the harbour, giving assurance that the property of the inhabitants should be respected, which was most scrupulously adhered to. To all this the mandarins readily consented, and on Sunday morning early Sir H. Grant landed with his staff, and spent the day in fixing upon quarters for the troops. Although Chusan did not prove itself as fatal to our men as during the former occupation, it was by no means a healthy station. The town lies in a large plain some miles in extent, which is surrounded by hills except upon the seaboard. Numerous springs and streams are used to irrigate this plain, so that it is one sheet of water in which rank crops of paddy are grown, and, as it might have been expected, fever was the result. But the importance of the position, as a key to the north of China and as a depôt for the commissariat, rendered it imperative that the allies should occupy it.

The inhabitants welcomed the English most cordially as old friends, and as you walked through the town or in the country round they invited you into their houses in the most friendly manner, and sometimes treated you to a few words of English, which must have been bottled up for many a year. Our allies did not meet with the same welcome; the natives did not understand why the French had come, nor were the Gauls at all so considerate in their mercantile arrangements as were our people; in fact,

trade between them and the Chinese was anything but *free*, for is it not contrary to all principles of *free* trade that the buyer should fix the price? Their little playful ways with the natives here and elsewhere led John Chinaman to form the opinion "Flenishe, No good," which has often been expressed to me in the strictest confidence. I need not say how entirely I differ of course, from my friend John Chinaman in this opinion. So friendly were the people that Lady Grant ventured to land on Monday morning, and walked for a considerable distance round the hills which overlook the town; the country people were very curious with respect to her ladyship's dress, but quite polite withal; they invited us to sit down in their houses, and begged of her to take off her gloves, admiring very much the whiteness of her hands: these were the "ladies" who took such liberties, nor did the frankness and condescension of her manners please them less than her personal appearance.

On Monday afternoon the 'Granada' left Chusan and dropped anchor for the night among the islands, and starting at daybreak, on Tuesday arrived at about 9 A.M. at the sacred island of Pootoo, the General being anxious to inspect it, with a view of converting the place into a Sanatorium, which it would have been very desirable to establish in case of a lengthened occupation of the north of China, or indeed should a large force remain in any part of the country. I myself cannot but feel convinced however that for the European there can be no Sanatorium

in these seas; a man may preserve his health perhaps for years as a civilian, not being exposed in that case to the vicissitudes of the climate as the soldier is, and living all the time in an excellent house, surrounded by every comfort and luxury which money can procure, but if he once becomes really ill then nothing but *home* can save his life. Pootoo is about two miles-and-a-half long by an average of one mile in breadth. It is occupied entirely by temples, in and around which about a thousand Buddhist priests nestle,—ecclesiastics by no means dignified, but on the contrary very, very dirty. I had forgotten in writing the above the memorable exception of St. Simon Stylites and some others, in whom the dirt went far to constitute the saintship; there is a prejudice at home now, however, in favour of soap and water. From the landing-place you walk along a flagged road which ascends with an easy incline; ancient temples on your left near the shore, and noble trees casting a pleasant shade around them; while on every side magnificent camellias, twenty and thirty feet high, are to be seen glistening with their wax-like blossoms to the top. Azalias innumerable of humbler growth, and wild flowers of various hues form a rich carpet of surpassing beauty that springs beneath your feet. And there is a "forget-me-not,"—yes, here in China as at home it flourishes, and calls up many a memory and some that never sleep.

As you advance towards the centre of the island the trees are less frequent, and rills of sweet fresh

water cross your path towards the shore, and then you descend through a rich grove to a hollow, or little valley; and here the scene is as enchanting as can well be imagined, and more, far more so, than my ineloquent pen can paint. You pass under a massive old rectangular gateway of stone, tall and imposing, and carved all over in every conceivable fantastic form; time has mellowed the deep and bold tracery, but not effaced it anywhere; it seems just *ripe* now, and you feel as if it had been keeping for hundreds of years until you came to see it in perfection. Then there is a large pond to your left, crossed by two marble bridges of the true China pattern, which (vulgar thought!) reminds you of that old dinner-set, the longest thing you can remember. I am not quite sure that if it was one o'clock you would not fancy that you smelt that frequent roast mutton of olden days. What a happy young fellow you were then, you did not have to come to China to look for your mutton! Sacred fish swim lazily and secure in the pond, and sacred birds dream listlessly upon its surface; your ecclesiastic, upon a good old foundation, has an easy time of it. And here rests the great central temple of the island, evidently of remote antiquity. Descriptions of Buddhist temples you have all read often, if you have never seen one; the sombre light, the always-burning incense, the triple Buddha, past, present, and future, of vast size and rich gilding, and here numbers of other shrines with their varied images, some of them of

colossal stature, and one which catches your eye and fixes your attention. "The Queen of Heaven" with the infant in her arms, the resemblance to another so-called "Queen of Heaven," is startling; who is the borrower and who the lender? Did not Israel say of old to the Prophet, "As for the word that thou hast spoken unto us in the name of the Lord, we will not hearken unto thee. But we will certainly do whatsoever thing goeth forth out of our own mouth, to burn incense unto the Queen of Heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto her as we have done, we and our fathers, our kings and our princes in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem, for then had we plenty of victuals, and were well and saw no evil. But since we left off to burn incense to the Queen of Heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto her, we have wanted all things and have been consumed by the sword and by the famine." Materialism is very ancient, but that grafted upon Christianity is not the oldest; I wish Rome would be honest and return it, it does not belong to her.

This group of temples covers a number of acres; a street of poor houses where priests live branches off from it, and there are some shops where cheap and small wares are sold, and picture-maps of the Sacred Island, and of the world, which is an elongated parallelogram; the Celestial Empire covers nearly the whole of it, but it has a nice little border all round, where the various nations of Barbarians live, each

having a small square patch in the border; there is a printed description of each nation in few words, its name and chief produce, which it is represented as bringing to China as *tribute*. Some of these nations I had never heard of, nor did I recognize as flattering the slight mention made of us. I could not help saying to myself, "Never mind, we'll see who is to pay tribute this time." Again you ascend, the flagged road conducts you along the side of a hill and towards its summit, the sea on the right; in front is another temple, very small, half-a-mile from the central group; it is perched on the top of a cliff covered with flowering shrubs and overhangs the sea, which, deep and blue, rolls against the perpendicular rock hundreds of feet below.

The island stretches something like a mile beyond this spot, which commands a view of a fertile valley to the left front, bordered on the right by a sandy beach, and at its far end another rich grove of deep-green trees, between whose tops and branches you can discern the many-coloured roofs of another cluster of temples. Yes, if there is a sanatorium in the China seas, it is Pootoo. I can imagine the wounded or fever-stricken soldier lying half the day upon its grassy banks and inhaling the fresh sea-breeze, and imagining himself (for what cannot fancy do?), if he turned away his gaze from its distinctive features, *at home*. Oh sweet, oh healing thought, all ills that have not yet touched the life, can you not cure them!

But Pootoo has its drawback, or it would be more than terrestrial; it has no harbour, nor is the anchorage very good; ships would be exposed to the full sweep of both monsoons, not to speak of typhoons; and although soil, and climate, and beauty, (a very good thing for sick people as for those in health) and position all recommended it, it never was made a sanatory station, whether on account of the anchorage, or because "Bono Français" did not like us to go there without him, and would not go himself, or for both reasons combined I am not prepared to say. The barren rocks and mountains of the China coast were repast in three days, its turbulent and muddy waters ploughed; and on Friday evening, the 29th of April, the 'Granada' felt her way down the north, or Lyeemoon Channel and re-entered the harbour of Hong Kong, while the lights from the hundreds of ships resting on its still waters, and those from the town and from the hill, as they shone in the clear air, looked from the distance like the stars in a little firmament.

On Tuesday night, the 26th June, we arrived in the 'Granada' at Talienwhan (the bay or harbour of Talien), and steamed slowly in. The Admiral had already arrived, and guided by his "bright particular star," for he, of course, had a light or lights where no one else dared to carry them,—though where it is I cannot tell you, the officer in command of the ship knew, and that is always enough for me when at sea. We dropped anchor in "Victoria Bay." Talienwhan

is a large bay, some twenty miles long or deep, by about nine miles wide. It may be described in the words of Virgil, if my memory does not fail me:—

> "Est in secessu longo locus: insula portum
> Efficit objectu laterum, quibus omnis ab alto
> Frangitur, inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos."

The *Island* is there, doubtless, in the centre of the harbour's mouth, but I can hardly say that "*omnis unda frangitur*," as there is sometimes a swell inside. Sad would have been our fate if we had dispensed with the anchor as in the bay Virgil speaks of; there was no "atrum nemus imminet umbra" for us there; as to the "nympharum domus," there was only one nymph in the whole fleet, and she was not a classical one. It was a fine sight as you went on deck in the morning to look round on that large fleet of transports and men-of-war and merchantmen of different nations,—American, Dutch, French, and English, all hired by our Government to convey our troops and stores; and then they had all arrived without a casualty, either in small fleets, or dropping in by two or three at a time, and now you might count them by hundreds.

The General knew that the French would not be ready for some weeks (we were quite prepared), so the troops were to be disembarked and encamped. We occupied three stations in different parts of this large harbour. Victoria Bay, farthest of the three from the entrance, and about eight or nine miles from the point most remote from the mouth, affords excel-

lent anchorage. Here the First Division was landed and pitched their tents close to the shore, on fields of growing maize. Sir John Michel was in command, and throughout this campaign maintained the character which he had previously so well earned both at the Cape and in India, as a first-rate officer, both in cantonments and on service. The Royal Engineers were very busy in sinking wells and making reservoirs in the natural watercourses with which the place abounds, but these beds of streams were now dry and water was not very plentiful; still the men managed to get enough. This camp lay on the left as you come up the harbour. On the opposite side, or right from the entrance and nearer to it, lay "Hand Bay," where the Second Division was encamped; the ground was more undulating and picturesque. And nearer still to the harbour mouth and on the same side was "Odin Bay," the most sheltered anchorage of all, with an abundance of water; this was given to the cavalry and artillery as their station, than which nothing could be more suitable.

The general character of the scenery is of this sort. The hills are abrupt and rocky on both sides of the bay for a considerable distance, sheltering nothing but blue pigeons and huge owls; as the bay recedes they gradually lose their steep sides, and slope gently for a mile or more to the water's edge, affording a good belt of arable land at the foot, and pasture for sheep to the top. These hills are intersected by numerous

and deep ravines, which give unmistakable signs of being very heavily flooded at times, but they are now quite dry; though when the "wet season" occurs in the north of China I have yet to learn, as I have had personal experience of it from June to May, and I never saw yet two days' rain in succession, nor yet one whole day's rain even during that period, while I have known weeks and months when not a drop has fallen. Of dust storms I know too much, but as to rain, when you have not seen it for many weary weeks, and the very marrow of your bones is parched up, and your skin has become like a very old shoe, through the aridity of the atmosphere; when the paper cracks and peels off the wall, and the best made, seasoned, iron-bound box will crack, and your hair, cut short, splits; then how you do sigh if only for one shower, a few drops how grateful. They must get rain at some time at Talienwhan, but when, I know not, and I fancy it is uncertain, as when the country people at "Wahiway," which is in the neighbourhood, were asked when it would rain, they burst out laughing and inquired "how they could be expected to tell that? they could tell when it had rained last, but who could tell when it would rain again."

For the last six or seven miles the bay narrows and shoals considerably, and there are several miles of arable land on each side between it and the hills, studded with villages, which are all planted and shaded with trees, while in the distance, seen as you

look up towards the far end of the harbour, some fifteen or twenty miles off, rises a chain of very respectable-looking mountains. Three or four miles from the First Division camp and further inland, a station was subsequently formed for the military train.

The country people upon our first approach, had removed their families and their stock from every village within four or five miles of the shore; but the men themselves in general remained, apparently not fearing any personal injury from us. At Victoria Bay, the camp of the First Division, it was impossible to procure a supply of country produce of any kind. Occasionally, indeed, some villager from a distance would drop in with a few eggs or fowls, and he was seized upon and his basket bought up in a moment. The soldiers had their salt rations of course, but the soldier is not a good cook and cannot get on so well upon "junk" as the sailor. The heat of the sun was very trying, although generally tempered by a sea-breeze, and the result was that there was a good deal of dysentery and diarrhœa among the men, and several deaths occurred. The Second Division at Hand Bay was rather more fortunate; there was a much greater extent of country under cultivation on their side of the harbour, and they succeeded in procuring a proportion of fresh provisions, fowls, sheep, and vegetables. But the best market was at the cavalry camp at Odin Bay, but even there it was necessary to be early in the market if you were

anxious for a supply. The officers shared the same fate as the men. Many regiments had large supplies of preserved meats, and plenty of beer and wine *on board ship*, but as usual in such cases, that which was most wanted could not be procured, and the case was too often similar to that memorable one in the Crimea, when the medicines were discovered to have been placed beneath the shot and shell. Thus the officers were obliged to do without all the supplies which they had brought on from India, and some regiments eventually got but a percentage of their stores, for when they were landed afterwards at Takoo, quantities of them were put on shore by Jack Tar, below high-water mark,—cases, containing all sorts of property, uniform, winter-clothes, wines, beer, pickles, preserves, were floated out to sea and were never heard of again, while the confusion consequent upon such a scene afforded a sort of opportunity for plunder, and the British sailor was not slow to avail himself of it. I was informed that he might have been seen seated amidst a chaos of cases, burst open, diving first into one, then into another; up came a bottle of champagne (he had had *a few* already); he looked at it for a moment. "I say, Bill, here's more of that —— champagne again (flinging away the flask in disgust); I wonder where there's some more brandy, that's the stuff, lads." I cannot say where the whole blame of this disgraceful proceeding rested, but there must have been something very defective in the arrangements between the two services as to

the landing of these stores, or it could not have occurred.

The weather was, on the whole, as fine as could be expected; we had some showers, a storm or two of short duration, in one of which many of the tents of the First Division were blown down in the night; while every one, especially the unhappy ones who were left tentless, was blinded and choked by dust, for the soil, a peculiarly fine, sandy loam, rose with the wind in an impalpable powder, and penetrated wherever the air reached. Drill, which is not exactly a pastime, was the only occurrence which diversified the monotony of the existence of the army for six weeks at this most dull place; there was, indeed, one hare in the neighbourhood of Victoria Bay, and she afforded much sport, as though always to be found, no one could shoot her; I am certain that many a hungry gaze was fixed upon her as she cantered up the hill, both barrels having been fired in vain, salt junk is not good for a constancy. It was not considered safe to go far beyond the precincts of the camp except armed, and with a tolerably strong party. Some naval people were near getting into trouble upon one occasion; they went some distance up the harbour beyond Victoria Bay, to a village, where it was asserted by the villagers that they had been guilty of some outrage and shot one of the people; they were however surrounded, disarmed, their hands tied, and they were marched back to their boats; the arms were afterwards delivered up; and

if they were the aggressors, as it would appear that they were, they escaped much better than they deserved.

Col. Anson, A.D.C., and I rode one day from Victoria Bay all round the harbour to Odin Bay, the cavalry station, and a very pleasant ride it was. Our friends took a kind adieu of us the night before we started, and told us that the first inquiry they would make at Pekin would be for us, as there could not be a doubt that we should be captured by the natives, and sent there in cages, unless indeed we were rash enough to show fight, in which case we would have our heads cut off, and *they* would go to Pekin in our stead. We were undeterred, however, by their "chaff." We both wanted to go to Odin Bay, and we felt that a ride would do us all the good in the world, having been shut up on shipboard so long ("in prison with a chance of being drowned"), and there was a shade of adventure in the ride which made it pleasant, as we should travel in an enemy's country, by unknown paths where no European had ever been before.

Having taken some provisions in our saddle-bags and wallets for ourselves, and some grain for our horses, and being well armed, we left the camp at Victoria Bay at six o'clock in the morning. The day was delightfully fine, although of course the sun was hot; but our heads were well defended by white felt helmets and large "puggeries," and (no less important matter) our loins and livers by ample "cumberbunds."

A "puggery," I must tell you, is a piece of cotton or silk of any colour (white is the best), some yards long, which is wrapped round the hat or cap to protect the head from the powerful rays of the sun; and a "cumberbund" is ditto ditto, but longer of course, wrapped round the waist. Thus accoutred, we wound our way for some miles along the border of the harbour until we reached its extremity inland, when we turned it to our right, and here we were a little perplexed; to keep along the shore would be to lengthen our ride very much, which must under any circumstances exceed forty miles, and in many places this road would not be practicable, as the cliffs were precipitous and not to be ridden over; we must therefore strike inland, but we did not like to venture too far into the country, as the natives had reported to the consular interpreters attached to the army that there was a walled town, some few miles in that direction, garrisoned by Tartar troops, infantry and cavalry, and we had no ambition to fall into the hands of these Philistines; we determined therefore to march across country, on a lofty peak which rises behind Odin Bay, Sampson's Peak, and not to go through villages except when we could not avoid it. The country was quite unenclosed, and hilly with patches of cultivation.

For some miles after we had turned the end of the harbour, the only obstacles which we encountered were deep watercourses, now dry, through which, at some season or other, torrents must rush from the hills, as their sides and beds bear unmistakable signs

of the fact. Our resolution about avoiding villages was soon tried, for as we turned the side of the hill we found below and in our front a large village, and we soon perceived that we had been seen, by the commotion which took place; the house-doors were shut, and the men, collected in groups of ten or twenty, watched us intently. The gulleys already spoken of prevented us from keeping on the hill-side and leaving the village on our left; and to pass it on the right it would have been necessary to turn about and make a considerable circuit, which would have betrayed our suspicions to the inhabitants, and this we were too proud to do; so we turned our horses' heads down the hill and made for the houses. The first group we came to we pulled up and saluting after the fashion of the country, that is, by each man shaking his own hand; we asked for some water, keeping our eyes open all the time, lest our country friends should attempt any assault upon us. Our request was complied with, with great alacrity and good humour, and we soon saw that there was nothing but a friendly feeling towards us; the ice-cold water, too, from the shaded well was delicious after a three hours' ride in a hot morning sun. We soon became excellent friends with the country folks; the group became a crowd, and even some children stole quietly near us, evidently having a great amount of fear to overcome. Gardens, as usual, were attached to their houses, and here we saw and smelt the fragrant, the delicious onion, the soldier's best friend (when campaigning),

not indeed when at home, he enjoys other sweets which forbid its use. "Hulloa," I called out, "Anson, thim's scallions," thinking of a story I had heard of, as having happened at the Curragh camp. One of the staff there, who was rather a "bahaudoor," walked down to the market one morning, and seeing a large bunch of green vegetables lying at a vegetable stall, gave it a kick with his foot, and asked, "Ah! whoaat's tha-aat?" "Thim's scallions, captain," replied the native woman. "Scallions"! rejoined the dragoon, "whoaat are scallions?" "Oh thin be dad, captain," said she, "they're an article that if you were afther atin a fishtfull iv thim, you wouldn't have the face to be after goin to kiss your mistress." As we, however (worse luck for us), had no little chances of that sort in prospect, we made signs for some glorious little green onions that were growing over the wall; off went the natives and produced a bundle of them, which we divided, and tied to the dees of our saddles, rejoicing in the prospect of this addition to our breakfast. In order to impress the native mind with the purity and honesty of our intentions, I insisted upon the owner of the garden paying himself for our "scallions" out of a string of cash, and I indulged myself by giving the rest among the children in the crowd.

Thus we took leave of the friendly villagers and resumed our ride; a few miles brought us to another cluster of houses, and as we saw that the only chance of shade and water was among the abodes of the

natives, and nature began to clamour for breakfast, we determined to halt in the village and feed ourselves and our horses; so riding up the main street, we pulled up under a friendly tree and asked for "sueah," pointing to our cattle. "Ah! sueah, sueah," was the friendly reply, and soon the horses' heads were buried in the buckets of delicious, cold, spring water; a crowd of course collected round us, and we at once displayed our confidence in the natives and our determination to make ourselves at home, by taking the bits out of our horses' mouths, producing our grain-bags and slacking our girths. Then having taken care of our good steeds, we sat down on a wall, the centre of an admiring throng, pulled out our bread and meat and began to feed. Curiosity soon began to display itself on the part of the natives; they tasted our sherry, but liked some brandy from A.'s flask better, especially one old fellow with one eye, who would have got drunk on the spot if he had had a chance; then our food, too, they appeared to approve of, and our tobacco was quite popular; our dress, arms, and saddlery, everything, in short, was minutely inspected, and they readily comprehended the five-shot revolver; the native who was looking at it dropping his arms and opening his mouth, as if dead, as he pointed to each chamber of the breach.

At length we bade farewell to our numerous friends and started once more on our journey, nor did we call another halt until we reached the welcome camp of the Second Division at Hand Bay, and having been

hospitably entertained by the General, Sir R. Napier, we accomplished our last five miles to Odin Bay, and put up for the night with our friends at the cavalry camp. This was by far the most picturesque of our stations at Talienwhan. The bay was nearly land-locked, and some of the hills around it were almost ambitious enough to be called mountains, the slopes leading to their bases undulated in various directions, which gave a most pleasantly regular irregularity to the landscape, while you could take in, almost at one view, from some points, the camp of every regiment of cavalry and each battery of artillery, with the tents of a wing of the old 99th about the centre; while a most diminutive temple, with gods in a ruinous condition, on the sea-shore, marked the head-quarters of General Crofton.

Those splendid horses picketed by the tents added much to the beauty of the scene; and somehow the cavalry soldier is generally a clean, smart, well got-up man, and on this campaign, whenever and wherever the King's Dragoon Guards turned out, whether on parade or in the field, every strap and bit and buckle was as bright, neat, and correct, as it would have been at a general inspection at home; and the turn-out of our artillery was equally good. The troops here were also, as I have said before, much better off for fresh provisions. General Crofton, R.A., who commanded at Odin Bay, had established a very successful market, and many a cock and hen was to be seen tethered in the rear

of the tents, not that they were destined to remain there very long, being required to relieve from duty, salt junk, gone on leave of absence after a long and arduous (for the eater) service. If I recollect right, however, Desborough's battery went so far as to keep a pet cock, which I and others looked upon as a great and extravagant indulgence of feelings not at all warranted under the circumstances. If he (the cock) had been over at the First Division camp, at Victoria Bay, his life would not have been worth five minutes' purchase, whereas here he strutted about quite safe among the officers' tents.

This walled town, Hangkow I believe it was called, and of whose garrison we had heard such reports, was to be the subject of a reconnaissance on the day after our arrival; the reserve of the army was to be left at Odin Bay, batteries were erected on commanding positions so as to fortify the place from attack either by sea or land, and it was deemed expedient that we should know the truth as to the Tartar force which was reported to occupy Hangkow, that we might not have an enemy in any force behind us when we advanced against the Takoo Forts. Having procured fresh horses, we started at about nine A.M., with a party of Fane's Horse, for this place some ten or twelve miles off, having ascertained the whereabouts of the town. Our appearance, as we cantered along through villages and past farm-houses, caused no small sensation, but when we stopped occasionally to make some inquiry or to get

a drink of water, the people were all civility. An hour-and-a-half's riding brought us in view of the town, when Fane called a halt, and the ground gave us a good view of the place. We could see that there were a number of guns on the face of the wall next to us, and there was a great excitement created in the suburbs by our sudden appearance, as the people hurried towards the town, and the walls were soon alive with civilians, and some soldiers among them; we announced our peaceable intentions by the consular interpreter, who accompanied the reconnaissance, and riding on to the town, sent a message to request an interview with the chief Mandarin. On our arrival we found the gate shut. The ditch had been lately deepened and widened, and the messenger returned to the top of the gate to report that the chief Mandarin was not in the town but outside, and that if we retired into the suburb, he could be sent for, and would no doubt meet us there.

This we knew to be a falsehood, and returned an answer pretty much to that effect. Another messenger speedily arrived, requesting us to retire to a temple about half-a-mile off in the plain, and assuring us that the Mandarin would meet us there at once. We rode over to the temple and waited there for half-an-hour, but no one came. It appeared to have been used as a barrack, for there were a number of targets lying about which had been recently used for "ball practice," and some other warlike *matériel.* Wearied of waiting,

we returned to the town and met "the swell" coming round the wall, having evidently made his exit by another gate. He drove up in "a cart and pair," a mule leading a pony tandem, but yet not very sporting-looking, attended by a couple of out-riders, and a crowd of the inhabitants amounting to about 2000.

They were all very peaceable and very curious, the consular interpreter extracted all the information which was required from the greasy-looking old gentleman who, although dressed in sky-blue satin, seemed ignorant of soap and water. He said that there were no troops in the town except the ordinary force necessary to protect the inhabitants from pirates, &c., &c.; and having received friendly assurances from us, and a cordial invitation to trade in country produce, accompanied by a hint that the safety of the town and adjacent country might depend upon the liberality with which supplies were sent into the market at Odin Bay; he took his leave, and expressed his intention of paying his respects to General Crofton next day. The next day accordingly brought him over to camp, and mutual exchange of presents having taken place between him and the General, most amicable relations were established, and the result was a marked improvement in the Odin Bay market.

CHAPTER V.

Weighed Anchor for Pekin—Landing—Our Bivouac—Cockroach Broth—Colonel Anson—Arrived at Petang—Landing—Tea—Petang—Colonel Ross—The Military Train—Difficulty of Transport.

EACH Division was reviewed by Sir H. Grant; and every regiment was found to be in excellent order; the Commander-in-Chief of the French, having arrived from Chee Foo, was present at the inspection of the cavalry and artillery, and expressed himself, as well he might, astonished at the neatness and precision with which both arms of the service turned out. Everybody was weary of "Talienwhan," and we began to fear that winter would overtake us before we should reach Pekin, and that we should not "get home this autumn," which appeared to be the grand desire of everybody; and anything but blessing was poured upon the heads of our allies who were not ready, and had thus detained us a month. "Why doesn't the General go on without them," cries the enthusiastic Ensign. "We don't want them; I wish they were all at home. What's the use of keeping us in this stupid place to please old Montauban? Why, we'd have been at Pekin before now if we hadn't been stuck here, doing nothing." Such was the feeling of our youth;

and at last Thursday, the 26th of July, arrived, and with just enough breeze and no more, our gallant fleet weighed anchor, and set sail for the rendezvous, about twenty miles south of the Peiho. Never did I witness a more imposing sight,—ships of every build and tonnage, under canvas and steam, spread over the water as far as the eye could reach; half across the world from Old England, bearing her gallant sons to chastise a treacherous and haughty power, an expedition self-contained and independent of all contingencies, with stores of every kind ready and at hand, and wanting nothing which human foresight could provide, human skill procure, or English gold could buy. Far off to the south-west, the smoke of the French steamers was to be seen as their fleet steered to the same point, and next day, the English first, and then the French, anchored at the rendezvous.

Early on the 30th the fleet sailed some miles further inshore and anchored at about ten miles from the Peiho forts and twelve from Petang, where we were destined to land. It had been proposed at first that the Allied forces should take different sides of the Peiho river, the British landing to the north, the French to the south, and that thus a combined attack should be made on the forts north and south at the same time; but when Major Fisher, R.E., had completed his valuable surveys of the coast, this plan was found to be impracticable, but he gave us the cheerful intelligence that the Petang river was open, unbarred and unstaked, and that

both the forts which defended its entrance were open in the rear, and therefore to be thus taken. I do not know any officer employed upon this expedition to whom its good fortune is more to be attributed than to Major Fisher, R.E., or anyone who performed as great an amount of hard work and with equal success. The weather was not propitious on the 31st, the sea was too rough for the launches to be towed inshore, and so the landing was put off till next day; we hailed a heavy fall of rain on the morning of the 1st of August, as a good omen, it "beat down the sea;" and at about eleven we left the fleet, the gunboats towing the launches filled with men. I think I counted fifteen of those most useful little vessels, equally valuable to fight as for their present employment. The Force consisted of the Second Brigade of the First Division, which comprised three regiments, the 2nd (Queen's), the 2nd Battalion 60th Rifles, and the 15th Punjaub Infantry, together with some Royal Artillery with rocket tubes, and a company of Sappers. The French had an equal force, making in all about 5000 men. We crossed the bar of the Petang river all right, and anchored within less than a mile of the nearest Fort, which is on the right or south bank of the river, the other Fort lying half-a-mile further up on the opposite side. Here we remained a weary two hours, waiting until the tide should rise to its highest in order that, if possible, the men might land dry. In this hope the Admiral was disappointed, and

about four o'clock the signal was given to land. We had all been ordered to bring the invariable "three days' cooked rations;" mine consisted of some ham sandwiches, a flask of sherry, and a tin water-bottle filled; these I consigned to my Madras boy whom I managed to smuggle on shore. Those three days' cooked rations are a delusion, as we all learned afterwards, as it is absurd to suppose that meat carried in a haversack, by the side of a marching soldier, could keep for twenty-four hours in China.

The French landed a short time before us. The signal to land had been made, but a delay was ordered by the Admiral when he perceived that the water on the bank was too shoal to permit the boats to get near the shore, and by this means our Allies, who heeded it not, got the start of us by a few minutes. Soon, however, we followed, and jumped into the water nearly up to our middle, with a very soft bottom of sticky mud. I pulled off my long boots and socks, retaining however my "shorts," and having waded some hundreds of yards in water and mud, I had about a mile of mud alone, before I reached dry ground. Here the troops were halted for a short time and formed, the French on the left and we on the right, next the forts and the town of Petang, which is built on the right bank of the river. I could not help casting a glance now and then at the Fort next us (we were within easy range of it), expecting to see that puff of smoke, which would tell that the war had indeed begun.

We presented a rather ludicrous appearance that evening as we halted on firm ground. One officer with a knife scraping the tenacious mud from his feet and legs before he put on his stockings and boots; another, less wise, trying the effect of a fine cambric pocket-handkerchief; while a third found a small pool of water as large as a slop-basin, and enjoyed a "glorious wash." One brigadier, a most energetic officer, had taken the precaution to remove not only his boots but his "what-shall-I-call-them," and enjoying the advantage of a very short shirt and a jacket, it was not a sight one saw everyday; when thus in "undress" he ordered the men to "come to attention and shoulder," and marched at their head as boldly as if he had been attired with the most scrupulous care.

During this halt on *terra firma*, we saw a number of horsemen riding along a bund, or causeway, some three-quarters of a mile off on our left front; they came out of the town over a bridge and rode off in the direction of the Peiho; this was our first sight of the far-famed Tartar cavalry, which like a whirlwind was to sweep us from the face of the earth! By the time we reached the bund it was getting dark; it was pretty evident that no resistance was to be offered to us here, and for obvious reasons it was determined that we should not enter the town that night: so it was a clear case of bivouac.

This was the first great mistake which the Tartar generals made in this campaign. If they had op-

posed us in force at our landing, they might have damaged us very seriously, if not driven us back. They had cover for any number of men and guns behind the causeway which stretched out from the town, and up to which we must advance. The right-hand Fort commanded us from the moment we landed, their cavalry could have manœuvred on the last half-mile of ground over which we had to march; we had not a horse with us. The French had some ten or twenty Spahis mounted on Japan ponies, and a couple of things like popguns on wheels, while we had not so much as a bush to shelter us, and had they been aware of our movements, which they might have been, and taken advantage of their strong position, they might have done us more harm than they were able to do in the whole of the rest of the campaign; we should have had nothing to oppose them but the bayonet, as they had almost perfect shelter from our rifles.

But no, with their extraordinary ideas, they believed that we were, according to the rules of war, *bound* to go direct at the Peiho forts, and therefore they did not oppose us at Petang; although they had to a certain extent contemplated our landing there, and knew that we had surveyed the coast, they chose rather to trust to the natural difficulties which presented themselves, than to artificial defences. A like train of reasoning led them afterwards to complain that it was "*extremely unfair*" that we should have brought cavalry in this

expedition, because we never had brought any to China in any previous war. So much for the morals, with the arts of logic and war combined, taught by Confucius, Menchius, and Sangkolinsin.

Night was coming on, nothing was in sight but a dreary waste of mud. No friendly tope of trees offered its shade from the harmful rays of a full moon, which, as in the country in which the Psalmist David lived, "smite thee by night," producing effects often worse than those of a noonday sun.

Some of us had a blanket, some a waterproof sheet, all had enough to eat, but alas! we had little or no water, that first and last of requisites for human life, water. I could not help reflecting, as I sat down! parched with the day's heat, and weary of doing that most tiresome of all things, *nothing*, how often I had walked along the bank of some sparkling brook, and never dreamed how precious was the living water that flowed so abundantly at my feet, nor deigned to stoop and drink and thank God for it. What would I not then give for just one draught of it! How precious, yet how abundant had it been! Now its true value was made known and felt because we had it not. These things, I thought, are emblematic. Reader, can you read what my thoughts pointed to?

After some time, two energetic young officers of the staff volunteered to return to the boats and endeavour to get some water, and we patiently awaited their return. Sir H. Grant had gone away in the dusk, and reached the Bund along which the troops

were lying. On each side of it was a most offensive ditch of water, which had, as an Irish soldier pointedly remarked, a "Ho-goo off of it that was able to knock you down, so it was." Some distance from this we sat down, or lay down, and had recourse to the solace of the cheroot and pipe.

As I lay a thinking, I heard the cheery voices of a party of blue jackets approaching us. "I say, Jack," said one, "this ere breaker's precious heavy now, but I'm blowed if it won't be light enough soon." Quickly I jumped to my feet, and ran, tin tot in hand, to where I heard the sound. My tot was soon filled, and, without waiting for my nose to do its duty as sentry, and challenge and pass the friendly water into the gate which lay below it, I drained the tot to the bottom at a draught; when, oh, horror of horrors! how my interior rebelled, very nearly mutinied, when I found I had drunk a very strong infusion of what I most abhor in the world, *cockroaches!*

This breaker had lain empty in the gunboat's hold, their abode, their banqueting-hall, ball-room, dwelling place, or castle. Jack, in his hurry to give those "soldiers" a drink, had filled it with water, drowned all their cares and joys, and churned all the contents up into strong cockroach-broth, and—*I had drunk it!* But after the first nausea had subsided, I said to myself, "It was water at all events," and walked back to my blanket much more slowly than I had left it. In another hour Wolsely and Wilmot returned with a limited supply of the pure element, and we sat

down as cheerily as possible to our supper, and soon after I fell asleep. Meantime the guard of the 2nd 60th Rifles, which had been mounted at the gate leading into the town, had ascertained that the place was deserted; this information was conveyed to Sir H. Grant: and Mr. Parkes, ever foremost when work was to be done or risk met, volunteered to enter the town alone and examine the fort.

He went eventually accompanied by Captain Williams of the 1st Royals, Deputy-Assistant Quarter-Master-General, and one or two of the 2nd 60th; they made their way to the fort, which they found to be deserted, and having received information that the place was mined, and that explosive materials had been buried in various places in the fort, which were so disposed that they would blow up when pressed upon by a man's weight, they returned to head-quarters, satisfied with some flags as trophies, and the information that all the guns had been removed from the fort except some wooden "dummies," hooped with iron.

At about one o'clock the Tartars made a reconnoissance right up to the Bund; it was impossible for us to ascertain their force. They were first discovered advancing cautiously along the hard mud by a sentry of the 2nd 60th, who soon gave them the contents of his rifle; this aroused other soldiers of the same regiment, and they, following his example, the Tarters soon retired, leaving, however, proofs, which were found next morning, that they

had not got off scatheless, as a dead horse was found and the accoutrements and arms of several soldiers, whose bodies had been removed dead or wounded.

At about three o'clock in the morning I was wakened by Anson, who was returning from the ships, having landed one of the Commander-in-Chief's chargers and his own. A hard night's work he had of it, having traversed back and forwards several times that weary, wet, and sticky mud, two or three miles, first on one duty then on another, but as active, gay, uncomplaining, and untired as a thorough soldier should be, and I know no man to whom that title more truly belongs than to him. It was no easy matter to land highly-bred Arab horses fresh from shipboard in that horrid mud, where they sank up to their hocks at every step; but he brought them up all right, and being wakened by his cheery voice, I and Mr. Boulby, who woke at the same time, got up, and agreed to go on with him about a mile further, to where Sir H. Grant was, beyond the bivouac of the 60th Rifles, who were nearest to the town and on the Bund.

Knowing that I had to cross a deep, muddy, and *stinking* ditch (I may as well begin boldly and use the word at once, as there is no other in the language of any use while we remain at Petang), I followed the example of my friend the Brigadier, and started in my jacket and shirt, carrying the rest of my gear. We blundered along in the dark, and at length reached the ditch, which sepa-

rated the flat mud from the raised causeway; I made a bold plunge and floundered through up to my hips in water and filth, but Anson had a hard time in pulling through with his chargers. Indian syces are not of much use in a difficulty of that sort, he had to do everything himself, and with a great deal of floundering and struggling the frightened animals were got across.

We had to pick our way along the Bund, among the weary soldiers still asleep and lying in every attitude, and sometimes were obliged to disturb one or two to make way for the horses. Having reached our destination we lay down, Anson to sleep, I, only to think how very bad the smell was! But where were the Tartars? where the famous Sankolinsin all this time? Not at Petang, at all events, for we remained undisturbed until daybreak, got up, and thanks to Anson's powers as a commissariat officer (for he presided over all the General's arrangements in that department) and to Sir H. Grant's hospitality, we had a capital breakfast of cold meat of all sorts, and claret-and-water to wash it down with, which, after all the yet unslacked thirst of the night before, was very grateful. It had been arranged on the previous night that the Commanders-in-Chief of both armies should proceed into the town at 5.30 to take possession of it, and at the hour named we marched through the town and up to the fort. The town was divided in rather an irregular manner between us and the French, "bono Francy,"

as usual, not having the worst of it. You perceive that he is not modest, and always claims at the least his right, and that is a great way of getting through the world.

The Fort we found to be a very strong place, with embrasures for twelve guns. There were two Cavaliers joined by a Curtain, the former from 30 to 40 feet high, the latter about 15. It was built of mud and straw, and finished with great care, and would have stood a vast amount of pounding. It was surrounded by a wide and deep ditch, crossed by a bridge in the rear, which opened on the town. Some Sappers set to work and dug up the infernal machines, which had been laid as traps for us. They consisted of shells filled with powder and bullets, four or five shells in each machine; these were to be ignited by fuses, set on fire by a flint and steel. The affair was carefully covered over by a thick mat, and the earth so well laid down over it that the most cunning eye could not detect any difference between it and the surrounding clay. A slight weight pressing on the surface was supposed to set off a spring, which would strike the flint and steel, ignite the fuse, and blow up the unfortunate invaders; but the friendly natives saved us from this mischance.

Having inspected this Fort, and admired the wooden guns, the question arose, "what is to be done next?" I bethought me of a certain tea-shop which I had seen open in the town, not far off, and I had a dim vision of a wash in the dis-

tance. I communicated my ideas to two or three of our party, and, among others, to Lord R. G., who had joined the expedition at Talienwhan as an amateur. So, bringing our towels, we returned to the town, and soon found the tea-shop, where we were most politely received; and one of the first things I saw was that roller of cord or twine above my head, which I used to see long ago when I was a little boy at the grocer's shop at Oswestry, when I drove in from the country with my mother, and which I could not help coveting, although I am sure I was well taught at the time. Yes, that roller of twine there it was—I heard just the same sound from it—that first attracted my attention, and then I saw the whole scene of my childhood in a moment: the fat, black pony, and the phaeton, and my own little seat that no one else could sit in, and Benjamin the groom following on horseback, and the old 'Cross Keys' where the pony used to be fed—I wonder is the 'Cross Keys' there yet! I saw all in a moment. I wonder were all boys as covetous of twine as I was at that age, or was I a sinner above others? I did not want the roller of twine now, I did not covet it the least; I could not help saying to myself, "Yes, but there are other things, and forbidden too, that you do covet, why don't you think of them as of the twine? you will by-and-by."

We asked for tea, which is something like "char" or "tzar;" and as some of us had a long leaway to pull up in the drinking line, after the previous night

of drought, the number of bowls of tea consumed was fabulous. I felt myself just like the old lady in 'Pickwick,' at the temperance tea-party, whom Mr. Weller declared to be "a swellin wisably before his eyes." This tea, remember, had none of the seductions of sugar or milk about it, but then it was not strong, nor was it good. You never do get good tea in China; it seems a paradox, but so it is. If you ask me why, I am sure I cannot tell you. I had heard so before I came out, but I could not believe it; now I do. Having laved the inner man, we began to look about for something in the tub way, and in the back-yard of our host's premises we found some large earthenware crocks of clear water, cold and fresh. I don't think I ever enjoyed a tub more, after the weary day and night it was most refreshing. Nor would our friend accept of any payment for a long time, until at last we forced half-a-dollar upon him.

The day was occupied in taking up houses for the troops, and sending away the unfortunate owners; and it was a pitiful sight to seem them going away, and forced, by the suddenness of their exodus, to leave their little properties behind them, none of which they ever saw again. The furniture was used for fuel, the holes and puddles in the streets filled with broken crockery, and all their stores of grain were of course seized upon by the commissariat. Sir H. Grant, with the personal and head-quarter staff, occupied the fort, which was little better than a bivouac until some heavy rain obliged the use of tents. Pro-

byn's Horse were there too, and some few artillery. Everyone else was housed in the town; but the fort had this advantage, that it was comparatively free from the stench of the streets. During the eleven weary days that we occupied Petang, it rained heavily several times, and then the mud was fearful along the quay and through the streets.

But Petang, the vilest place in the world, deserves, from its superlative infamy, a more full description. It is built upon the right bank of the river to which it gives its name, and extends along it for about a mile from the fort, which bounds it to seaward. Like all small towns in China, the streets are narrow, and sunk below the level of the doors of the houses from six inches to two or even three feet. One or two of the principal thoroughfares are partially flagged, but in a rude manner. Into these sunken streets the drainage of the houses often flows, and is thus conveyed to an open ditch, which separates a large portion of the town into two nearly equal parts, and vents freely every compound of villanous smell that human nostril ever was doomed to inhale. An old Irish cook-maid, who lived with a mistress of a warm temper, during one of the visits of the cholera to that country, was asked if she was much afraid of "the sickness," she replied, "Troth, and I am; and why wouldn't I be affeared of it. But glory be to the Blessed Virgin, shure I say two prayers agin it every day and three agin the mistress." And if anyone were to compose

a Chinese Litany, I should propose that there were a special clause inserted "agin Petang." To walk through it for two days after rain was impossible except in long boots, to ride or walk dangerous, as it was very slippery; and if you had once fallen in that mud you must lose your self-respect for a long time, if not for ever.

The gun-boats came up the river early on the morning of the 2nd, and threw a few shells into the fort on the other side, dislodging some stray Tartars; and in the course of the day the 'Granada,' with Lord Elgin and his staff on board, and the 'Coromandel,' were moored in the river off the town. Then, indeed, a busy scene began. Most active preparations were made for the landing of stores, ammunition, artillery, cavalry, and infantry; and every credit is due to the Quarter-Master-General's department, as well as to the naval authorities, for their unwearied diligence, zeal, and skill in this most arduous and trying work.

The blue-jackets were to be seen toiling from daylight till dark, erecting landing-stages on the muddy banks of the river, while, all by himself, you saw some tiny middy, who looked more like a toy sailor than a real one, issuing orders in a would-be hoarse, gruff voice (a dead failure by-the-by, the voice, I mean, not the middy), to some eight or ten sturdy fellows over whom he presided, and was answered by the cheery "Aye, aye, sir," of the British tar. Towering above the rest, like Homer's hero, you

might see Colonel Ross, of the Quartermaster-General's department, stalking up and down the bank, careless alike of burning sun or drenching rain, watching and directing the landing of everything and everybody; one moment you see his head above the crowd; you look away for an instant, he is gone; where? It was only a tumble in the treacherous mud of the river. Never mind, he is up and at it again; don't laugh; ah! there you go down yourself, and serves you right for laughing at other people.

Again; you meet, amidst all the bustle and jostling and mud of the quay, elbowing his way among sailors, Sikhs, coolies, bullocks, mules, horses, ponies, stores, and soldiers, ever with a cheerful smile, a pleasant and kind word for every one, and a kindness that was not hollow or treacherous, but sincere, Colonel M'Kenzie, Quartermaster-General of the army in China; if there was a joke to be made under the most adverse circumstances he would make it, or a bright side to any dark picture, he would show it to you. "Well, M'Kenzie, what are you doing out in such weather as this; it is impossible to do anything in this rain?" "Well, I don't exactly know what I'm going to do" (with a slight accent from "over the border," just what you would not know); "all I know is that I'm at present engaged in 'opening up the trade with China,' and it's very dirty work." Williams, too, of the Royals, was sure to be about somewhere; you will most probably find him looking after the horses (he is safe to be on

horseback); and if there is a hard day's work to be done you could not easily find so good a man to do it. While Wolseley, where is he? Oh, he is making a reconnoissance perhaps, if he can get half-a-dozen Sikhs (I believe he would just as soon go by himself), or making drawings of the country to guide the Commander-in-Chief in his plans.

In the course of ten days every one was landed, and all the stores and ammunition requisite for present use, and the hours were anxiously counted by every one until we should march out of Petang, and advance against the forts of Takoo, or as the natives call it Hi Takoo (Takoo on the sea). The cavalry had been disembarked in admirable order; the deck of a gun-boat being filled from a transport, she steamed over the bar and up the river, and the horses walked out of her on one of the landing-stages. The poor beasts, however, would hardly drink the half salt-water of the river even at the lowest ebb, and in a short time this must have told severely upon them, so that hours even were of importance. The artillery got on shore famously, guns and all; and it was a sight to see the drivers threading their way through the narrow and tortuous streets, the horses up to their hocks in mud, and slipping into one hole deeper than another until they reached their quarters.

But the unlucky corps was the Military Train. Burthened with hundreds of animals, many, nay, most of them, vicious and unbroken, with very few Europeans, some Manillamen and Indian Syces,

none of whom will ever do more than they can possibly help, while not one soldier, and very few of the officers, knew one word of any language but their own except "Jow" and "Jelde;" and yet this mass of incongruous materials thrown together was supposed to be capable of righting itself at once, and by some unknown and inexplicable process of internal self-regulation, to step forth an organized body and perform the transport of the army. As reasonable would it be to take some brass, some gold, some steel, some china, and a few diamonds, with a small file or two, a pair of pinchers, a magnifying-glass, and a man, shake them up in a bag for five minutes, and expect to find a patent lever-watch, jewelled in eight holes, sustaining power, compensating-balance, and all the rest of it.

The majority of the animals were Manilla and Japan ponies. The former, I have said already, were landed at Hong Kong, in wretched condition, never had recovered themselves, and arrived at Petang all but useless. The Japan ponies were larger, stronger, and very vicious. The only quiet one I saw was bought by Staff-Surgeon Home, V.C., and he died very soon after. I believe the brute knew his latter end was coming, or else he felt too "seedy" to show vice. These also were landed in a most miserable state, dying by scores, and filling the air with a most pestilential stench, as their carcases lay all round the town and on the banks of the river, bloated and bursting with the damp heat and the powerful

rays of a vertical sun. The only efficient animals were the Bombay mules and the Indian bullocks, and these kept their health and did their work well throughout the campaign, but they were comparatively few in number. The others for the most part gradually melted away; and when the memorable sale took place at Tien-Tsin at the close of the campaign, when Indian Arabs were a drug at ten pounds the dozen, few, if any, of the Japan or Manilla ponies appeared.

The Coolie corps was very efficient and admirably organized by Major Temple, of the Indian service, but quite unequal by themselves to accomplish the transport work. What was to be done? Why, in point of fact, for staff and regiments there was little or no transport; every man his own transport was the order of the day. Some of us had the honorary distinction of having two coolies told off for our use, but it was purely honorary, and the coolies were "mythical," or *paper* coolies you might call them, for they were somehow always wanted and you never had them. Sixty or seventy pounds of baggage you were allowed, but that came to mean the clothes on your back, and the contents of your saddle-bags or wallets, if you were fortunate enough to be a mounted officer. Many officers had bought private baggage-animals for themselves at Talienwhan, and for these they were allowed to draw forage at the usual rate. I remember at Talienwhan it was very amusing to

see two or three fine young fellows, who would look very well rolling down St. James's or standing on the steps of "the Rag," who could tell you the odds on the Derby to a nicety, and the winners for the last twenty years, and always had their regular studs in India, and when at home, a horse or two and a trap. You know whom I mean. It was very amusing to see one of them driving a little donkey before him, by a long string, into camp; he had bought it for eight or ten dollars some four or five miles off in a village, to carry his baggage, and he was now bringing it home; he looked rather "sheepish" when he met you, but still tried to carry it off with a swagger, but it wouldn't do.

CHAPTER VI.

Reconnoissance—Leave Petang—The Cavalry—Advance of the Allied Forces—The Tartars desert their Camp—The Second Division—The Tartars charge our Guns—The Tartar Soldier's Hut—Prisoners—Lines on Moyse's Death—Chinese Documents—Chinese Policy—Results of the Expedition.

A RECONNOISSANCE was made on the 3rd; the force consisted of about 2000 men, half French and half English; we had no artillery, the French having some small guns. Our men were from the 2nd Queen's, 60th Rifles, and 15th Punjaub Regiment, commanded by Brigadier Sutton. They marched out about daylight along the causeway, and met the Tartars about three miles from the town. The French being in front received their fire first, and threw out skirmishers on the right, brought up their guns, shelled the Tartars, and drove them back very soon. When we came to the end of the causeway the mud was tolerably dry, and we advanced, with the French on the right. The enemy stood again at some houses, and fired upon us from them, endeavouring at the same time to outflank our force with a numerous body of cavalry. From this position

they were again driven by the French guns. We immediately advanced, with skirmishers in front, until we came to a large entrenched camp, and here we kept up a game of "long bowls" at each other, which did very little harm on either side, while we waited for orders as to the storming of this position from head-quarters. The Generals decided that all that was requisite had been done, and (although some of Desborough's guns had arrived) sent the troops home, as it would have been no use to take the place without occupying it, and for this we were not prepared. Major Greathed got hit in the leg by a spent ball, and a few of our men were slightly wounded, also a few of the French; and Anson was near losing his charger, as a gingall-ball went between his legs.

It was a pitiable sight to see the families that were turned out, and others, alarmed for their own safety, moving off meekly and uncomplainingly with their bundles of clothes and bedding, the women walking, or rather tottering (no Chinawoman can walk), along in strings or rows, led generally by the eldest—the grandmother, then the mother, and last the younger ones, and the father perhaps carrying his infant. Poor people! they went up the river in boats or sanpans, Paterfamilias often up to his middle pushing the boat before him.

At length we left Petang. The morning was fine. Sunday, the 12th. "Why march on Sunday?" some one remarks; "why not on Saturday or Monday;

a day could make no great difference?" It did, however, make a difference, as the mud would bear on Sunday, it would not on Saturday, and to get out of the stench of Petang twenty-four hours sooner was a very important matter for the health of the men. Sir H. Grant, being a pious man, would not, according to his judgment, willingly desecrate the Sabbath, but I believe it has been his fortune somehow to have a good many Sunday fights in India, and we had in this campaign three or four Sundays that were very un-Sunday like. I can myself quite imagine the day of the week being forgotten, and it requires no small effort while campaigning to keep holy the Sabbath day; indeed, it is sometimes impossible to do so. However, it happened that on Sunday we took Chusan, on Sunday we marched from Petang, on Sunday we marched from Tien-Tsin, and on Sunday first went to the Ewenming Ewen; a fair proportion of Sunday-work for a short campaign.

As we marched out of the town on to the Bund which was to lead us in the direction of the Peiho, we felt that the work was indeed beginning, and experienced all the excitement consequent upon that feeling. It had been highly amusing for many days before to watch the armourers in Probyn's and Fane's regiments, grinding, grinding, grinding by day and night at their tulwars and lances; to see the grim smile of pleasure which would light up the face of the Sikh when he tried the edge of the blade



NATIVE OFFICER: FANE'S HORSE

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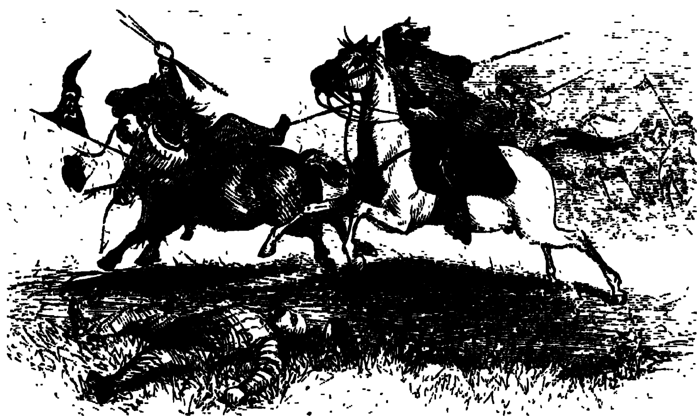
upon his hand and found it keen as a razor, the amorous glance which he would cast upon it as he consigned it to its sheath and gave it a loving pat. Sometimes it was the look which told of many a deed of blood done in former days as the flash of the large, dark eye, bright still as in youth, lit up the grizzled brow, and almost shone off the white moustache and beard; and sometimes it was the blush of hope; some as yet untried and youthful warrior saw before him the path to that fame and renown which his ancients had earned since the earliest records of their race, and which he had sworn should be his also; for you must know that the sowars in these irregular regiments are men of some standing and position among their own people; fighting is their only legitimate profession; it is their walk of life, they are born to it, and in it they die.

And right well did our cavalry look that Sunday morning as they turned off the Bund to the right along with the Second Division, and the Armstrong guns which were intended to oppose the large cavalry force which was known to be encamped there. Probyn's and Fane's regiments I could never say, throughout the campaign, to which, if called upon to decide the question, I should give the palm, any more than I could tell which of the two commanding officers was the finer soldier or the better fellow. The horses, however, looked a little tucked up that morning, and no wonder; and so did the dear, good, old, stout, and solid King's Dragoon Guards, in spite

of all the care bestowed upon them, and there was no lack of that by officers and men; but then you know, as it was remarked afterwards very judiciously, the "King's Dragoon Guards were not used to be fed upon *bird-seed and salt-water*," and so they had not thriven upon it.

We waited for nearly an hour, from about a quarter-past six to a quarter-past seven, until the Second Division, with the Armstrong guns, under Sir R. Napier, and the Brigade of Cavalry, commanded by Brigadier Pattle, had filed off to the right over a narrow pass made for them of planks and straw over the soft mud near the Bund until they reached the harder ground, some 150 yards off. When they were fairly started, the First Division marched on, commanded by Sir J. Michel, and accompanied by the General Commanding-in-Chief, the personal and head-quarter staff. This weary Bund reached some four miles from the town; but as all things human have an end, so we found its end at last, and a rather moist end it was, for it terminated in a salt swamp, in which the Royals and 31st, who were thrown out as skirmishers, found themselves sometimes nearly up to their middle. The rest of the troops, more fortunate, were able to pick their ground and keep themselves comparatively dry.

After about a mile's march, feeling our way, we came in sight of an earthwork, defended by the Tartars. Flags of all sorts and colours waved



HARGE OF FANE'S HORSE.

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above it, and we could see the enemy in some force behind the work. The French moved up on our left, and our guns and their rockets were brought into action. The Tartars replied from gingalls, but without effect, and in a short time the work was deserted, and we moved on, the Tartars having retreated upon another large earthwork about a mile further off. From this also we soon dislodged them, although they made a better stand of it. Here one of the gunners of Desborough Battery had his thigh broken by a gingall-ball. I was about twenty yards behind the guns, and just in this poor fellow's line, and as he fell before me I heard a splash, about the same distance to the rear, another ball having fallen in a pool of water behind me. I should have been right glad at the moment to have been out of range, but soon one's personal feelings became absorbed in the larger interests of the day.

We could now both see and hear that the Second Division and the cavalry had become engaged about a mile off on our right, but they must wait. We pushed on, and found that our guns had told on some of the Tartars in the work, and as we entered we found their camp had been evacuated. The tents were pitched inside a strong crenelated wall, with a ditch outside, and they had left in great haste, deserting all their little properties of pipes and "cash" and clothes, bows and arrows, swords, matchlocks, ammunition, and half-cooked food, glad to escape on any terms. They fled towards Tankoo, along a raised cause-

way, and we treated them to a few shells and some rockets as they cantered along. Of their numbers I could form no estimate.

We marched on through the village of Sinho, which was deserted except by some few old people and by the pigs, and halted on a dry plain near a creek of the Peiho, and close to some gardens, on the right rear of the village.

The French pushed on along a raised causeway to Tankoo, in the direction of the Peiho Forts, supported by the 60th Rifles and 15th Punjaub Infantry. Our Allies found the fire so hot, however, and the Chinese guns so well laid along the causeway, that they retired upon Sinho, and bivouacked in front of the village.

The Second Division under General Napier, as I said, took ground to the right of the Bund some half mile from the town of Petang. Attached to it, were Milward's Armstrong Battery, and Sterling's, with the whole of our cavalry under Brigadier Pattle. The ground was not so hard as it had been expected, and the guns and wagons soon got into difficulties in the mud. But what will not the British soldier do when he works with a will: the horses might sink to their hocks, and the guns to the axle, but there were stout ropes and stout sinews and good hearts enough to pull them through by main strength, and it was done, although it was considered more prudent to dispense with some of the wagons, and they were sent back.

Nor did the cavalry escape in marching through the same country. Twenty or twenty-one stone is too much weight for a horse to carry in deep ground, especially if he is expected to catch a retreating enemy afterwards, and this the King's Dragoon Guards found to their cost. The Irregulars, of course, had the advantage of lighter weights. Except videttes, which retired on our advance, no enemy was seen until the troops had arrived within rather more than a mile of the town of Sinho, where the Tartar cavalry swarmed out of their camps in large numbers, and presented a strong front of more than a mile in length. Three of Milward's guns were in the centre of our line and three more on our left; the cavalry on the right with Sterling's guns, and the Buffs skirmishing in front. When Milward had got the range, which he soon did, every shot took effect, and in about a quarter of an hour, which was as long as any troops could be expected to stand before such a fire, the Tartars moved right and left with the manifest intention of outflanking us both ways.

Their right wing, however, met the deadly Armstrong again upon our left, and this time it did not take ten minutes to give them enough of it. Their left encountered Sterling's guns, with like effect. Still, however, they did not resign the day; and finding the fire of Sterling's guns so intolerable, they formed the bold, but rash, resolution of capturing them, and a hundred Tartars rushed down upon Sterling, who had only twenty-five of

Fane's Horse with him. Had the Tartars been more numerous it might have been an awkward affair, and as it was the odds were pretty heavy against our Sikhs. But this was just the thing for M'Gregor, who commanded this little handful of Irregulars; here was a chance: he charged them home, and was in the act of spearing his man when he was shot down by a Tartar, hit in the face and body, but the sowars gave a good account of them, and soon made the enemy repent of their rashness.

Meantime, Probyn and Fane, as well as the King's Dragoon Guards, whose horses had all suffered severely in their struggles through the mud, were drawing nearer and nearer to the enemy, saving their horses for the final charge. Fane was one of the first to catch them, and quick as thought his spear flashed through one Tartar as he fled, and more anon. Probyn had a most exciting race along a causeway after one fellow; they were well matched in point of speed, and the Tartar kept on the near side of the causeway, so that Probyn could not get at him; at last he lifted his horse alongside and made his thrust, but the lance only went through the Tartar's clothes, he dodged it so cleverly, and Probyn could not catch him again. Anderson, of the Irregulars, got surrounded by a large body of the enemy's cavalry, and but that he defended himself with the greatest courage and coolness, ably seconded by the half-dozen sowars who were with him, must have been victimized. Probyn came to his relief and dispersed his as-

sailants. No troops could have behaved better than our cavalry; and it is only to be regretted that their horses were not more fresh, as they could then have done much more execution. The Tartars showed great steadiness, and when our infantry formed the invariable square, came on boldly, believing, as we afterwards learned, that our men had surrendered, and that the front-rank men, who were kneeling, were actually performing "kowtow" in token of submission. They soon discovered their mistake by the noise of the volley which followed.

It was to be regretted that Sir R. Napier did not, as Lord Clyde did with a much more formidable foe in his front, form line, and give his infantry a chance of making the Enfield rifle tell upon the Tartar cavalry. As the action covered a large space of country it was not easy to estimate the loss of the enemy; our own consisted of three officers of the Irregulars wounded, two sowars killed, and ten or twelve wounded, with one of the King's Dragoon Guards, three or four of the Royal Artillery, and as many of the infantry. For days afterwards some of the Tartars were found wounded, and some presented most frightful sights, as the sun had told upon their wounds; that they were all cared for I need not say. Many a month afterwards I saw some of them in hospital, and they had gotten an evident partiality for bitter beer. It is curious how easily some tastes are acquired. One poor fellow was found lying wounded in a ditch, and beside him his faithful dog and no less faithful horse,

which had both remained with him and watched over him for several days.

After a while the Second Division and the cavalry arrived at Sinho, marching in by the rear of the village, and very much done up they seemed, having had much the hardest part of the day, most marching and most fighting. Right glad was I, as I saw some poor fellow, pale and exhausted by the heat and fatigue, to be able to give him a drink of brandy-and-water or sherry from my flask, as I had an extra supply with me in my wallets for the purpose, and several cheaply-earned and hearty blessings did I thus receive.

It was still early in the day, about one P.M., and I wandered into a mud hutment which had been vacated that morning by the Tartar cavalry force, which had gone out to meet the Second Division. Everything was there as the poor fellows had left it, none of them ever to return to claim their little properties, and many of them, sent by the spears of Fane and Probyn to the abodes of Orcus, or wherever the place is that Tartars go to. Various and curious were the contents of these soldiers' huts. The Commander-in-Chief had a very nice hut, and very clean; and he had tea and all sorts of luxuries. The common soldier had plenty of grain for self and horse; and in every hut there were strips of meat drying in the sun, confirming what the Chinese had told us at Petang, that these Tartars lived on raw meat and "stank" (the Chinese said)

"worse than you do yourselves"—not very complimentary to us, the most tubbing nation in the world.

Having seized some grain to feed my horse I lay about, as did every one else, until it was time to think of settling for the night. We had no tents or blankets. I got a goat's-skin from one of the Tartar soldiers' huts, and this helped to fend off some of the dew which was very heavy, so that when we got up in the morning our clothes were so wet that we could wring the water out of them. We found large stacks of forage on the ground and plenty of corn in the town for the horses.

We lost a small party, consisting of a non-commissioned officer of the 44th, a private of the Buffs, and eight or ten Hong Kong coolies on this day, and on this wise. They were bringing some commissariat-stores to the front, and amongst the rest some rum. Whether they had a supply of spirits of their own, or put a "leak" into the keg, I cannot say, but the soldiers both got drunk, lost their way, stumbled upon a party of Tartars, and were taken prisoners (after showing some fight), with the exception of one coolie who managed to escape. We felt certain that they would be murdered, and that if the Europeans had any chance of escape, the Chinamen had none, as the authorities would naturally be exasperated against their own countrymen. In a few days, much to our surprise, the 44th man and all the coolies were sent in, but poor Moyse of the Buffs was missing.

The 44th soldier gave a very uncertain account of the whole matter, drawing largely upon his Irish imagination. He said that they had been brought before the "Gineral," and that Moyse was ordered to "kowtow," and upon his refusal to do so was put to death; that *he* had then been forced down, and had his face rubbed in the dust. He added that he and the "Serjeant-major" were great friends, and gave details of conversations which he had held with the "Serjeant-major;" and when asked how he came to understand all this, not knowing the language, his truly Irish reply was, "Ah! sure, thim fellahs has no saycrits like us." One thing, however, was clear that poor Moyse had lost his life in a chivalrous spirit; and I do not scruple to reprint some lines, which must have been already published at home, although I have only seen them in manuscript sent from England.

LINES ON MOYSE'S DEATH.

Last night, among his fellow roughs
He jested, quaffed, and swore;
A drunken private of the Buffs
Who never look'd before.
To-day, beneath the foeman's frown
He stands in Elgin's place,
Ambassador from Britain's Crown,
And type of all her race.

Poor, reckless, rude, lowborn, untaught,
Bewildered, and alone;
A heart with English instinct fraught
He yet can call his own;
Aye, tear his body limb from limb,
Bring cord, or axe, or flame;
He only knows that not through *him*
Shall England come to shame,

Far * Kentish hop-grounds round him seem'd
Like dreams to come and go;
Bright leagues of cherry blossoms gleam'd
One sheet of living snow.
The smoke above his father's door
In grey soft eddies hung,
Must he then watch it rise no more
Doom'd by himself so young?

Yes, honour calls! with strength like steel
He puts the vision by;
Let duskey Indians whine and kneel,
An English lad must die.
And thus with eye that would not shrink,
With knee to man unbent,
Unfaltering on its dreadful brink
To his red grave he went.

Vain mightiest fleets of iron framed,
Vain those all-shatt'ring guns;
Unless proud England keep untamed
The strong heart of her sons.
So let his name through Europe ring
A man of mean estate,
Who died as firm as Sparta's king,
Because his soul was great.

CHINESE DOCUMENTS.

A number of documents of some interest were found at the quarters of the Tartar chief. One was a memorandum from the Council of State addressed to Sankolinsin and the local Viceroy Hang Foo, in which the English and French ambassadors are denounced as "*intractable*" and "*rebellious*;" and are likewise designated by name as being "inseparable in dishonesty, sanguinary, and treacherous by nature," &c., &c.; and in which also our army is stated to amount to 30,000 men, and Sankolinsin's attention

* Buffs, or West Kent Regiment.

is drawn to our surveys which had been made of the coast of Petang.

The reply of Hang-Foo and Sankolinsin is truly characteristic of Chinese cunning. They say that the ground near Petang is all flat, and overflowed by the sea, and that we shall find it difficult to land; and that, should we effect a landing, there are cavalry and infantry sufficient to prevent us from advancing on the Forts.

The Russians are to be sent to Pekin if caught lurking in the neighbourhood. But it is said that if we were really increasing our forces to avenge our defeat last year, we would not have allowed the slightest rumour of our intentions to get abroad at Shanghai. Our army is sometimes stated to be 25,000, sometimes 30,000, and that contractors have undertaken at Shanghai to supply us with bread and beef. "This undisguised exhibition of courage, this reckless publicity would not have been the game even of the greatest fools, but they are not the greatest fools. The cunning of war is this: when one is going to surprise an enemy 10,000 le off, the mouth should be gagged and the drums muffled; the sally should be made when he is not expecting it, the attack, when he is off his guard. Who would give him notice beforehand, so as to enable him to be in readiness? They want to sue for peace, but do not choose to be the first to speak of it; this is perfectly plain. Besides, as to the violence of their language, these Barbarians, for the last twenty years,

have been feeding up their pride; and it is not to be expected that in one day they will bring down their heads, and lay back their ears, and wag their tails and ask for mercy. In their communications, therefore, it was inevitable that they should continue to use language that was extravagant and *rebellious*. Should they still persist in their desire to take revenge for their chastisement at Takoo, then, of course, they must go to Takoo, and fight it out."

We discovered also by another document that one thousand *taels* was offered by the Governor-General of the Province for the Barbarian chiefs, alive or dead, and especially for Lord Elgin; one hundred for an inferior, and five for each common soldier.

We learn much that is important from these documents. The thorough falsehood of their system of international dealing; that they considered our "ultimatum" to be a lie, because they thought it was not wise or prudent to speak the truth; that we were not going to take the Forts, because we gave them notice that we would do so. How, I would ask, are we ever to have diplomatic relations with a Government of this sort, until we have taught them by some such severe lesson as they have learned in this campaign, that we *do* intend what we say, and that we will punish treachery upon their part with severity?

Again: we learn, that with all the cringing of their officials and their *politeness* to us, they still preserve that idea amongst themselves that they are our *rulers*, and that we are "*rebels*." How can we trade upon

safe or equal terms with a nation which holds this view of our relative positions, until we have taught them that we are at least their equals, and (if we chose) could be their masters? They are, no doubt, a reasoning people; but they start from false premises, that the Emperor of China is Emperor of the world, and that all nations are "*tributaries* to him." These false premises must be beaten down, must be proved by our strong arm to be false *in fact* before it can be possible that we should meet on terms of equality. Until this is done all treaties are vain; they cannot be held binding by those who regard us as "rebels." All trade upon equal or just terms is impossible; They naturally consider that they have a right to dictate terms of commerce to their vassals when they have the power. The lives and properties of Europeans must be alike unsafe in China while this doctrine holds; and the barbarism of their mode of warfare is made sufficiently plain from the offer of "head-money" for the allies, from Lord Elgin down to the private soldier.

Let the Expedition be said to be expensive: it is so, doubtless; undesirable in some respects; so it is: but it is simply a question whether we are to allow the British nation to be insulted both in word and by deed by any nation on earth, and especially in the East; and whether we are to have trade with China upon a solid basis, not liable to be interrupted by every petty accident, even by the temper or caprice of some third-class Mandarin.

Holding, as I do, strongly, that England's dignity has never been acknowledged in China, but that both, in the persons of her subjects and her officials, she has been subjected to a series of insults—or, rather, one continued insult—since the day our first ship reached the China coast,—insult which never was submitted to from any other nation, and which none other ever dared to offer to us, I hold this Expedition to have been an absolute necessity. And believing, as I do, that the people of England are not prepared to give up the China trade, in order to gratify the pride of a few insolent old men,—for the people of China receive us with open arms, and if they had a voice would welcome us from north to south. And knowing that Civilization and Christianity can reach the people only through the medium of western commerce, I believe the Expedition of 1860 to have been unavoidable, and that we are entitled to look for the best results from it—to ourselves, to China, and to the great cause of Christianity and Civilization—if only our policy be carried our with firmness and unyielding resolution, and that we never shrink from that self-assertion which is most necessary in dealing with the Chinese.

CHAPTER VII.

Preparations—Trench Digging—Attack on Tankoo—Armstrong Guns—Floods in the Camp—Bridge over the Peiho—Dead Animals—Reconnoissance—Breakfast among the Grapes—Deserted Works—Mr. Parkes, C.B.—Skirmishing—Ruined House—Takoo Forts—Disposition of our Guns—Explosions—Storming the Forts—Numbers of Killed.

WE found some hundreds of women and children in some large junks in a creek, where they had been left by their natural protectors; Sir H. Grant immediately placed a guard over them, until they were removed, in a few days' time.

There is a causeway leading from the village of Sinho to Tankoo, a large and strong work, about three miles distant; the ground on the left of this causeway is a perfect swamp; on the right it is occasionally flooded either by high tides or heavy rain. This causeway may be said to run parallel to the river, which is distant from it about a mile-and-a-half, the intermediate ground being intersected by numerous ditches and water-courses. Through Tankoo alone could we reach the Forts, unless, as General Montauban desired, we had crossed the river and attacked the south Forts first; but this plan was not deemed the best by Sir H. Grant; and therefore, on

the 13th, the sappers were hard at work making bridges over the dykes in the plain between the causeway and the Peiho, as we were to attack the place on the next day, and across this ground our troops must advance. At eight o'clock on the evening of the 13th, the 60th Rifles and 31st were ordered out to protect a working party of Madras Sappers, under Colonel Mann, R.E., who were to dig a trench for riflemen about 500 yards from the wall of Tankoo.

They soon lost their way in the dark, and missed the bridges which had been made in the morning, and were obliged to struggle through the wet ditches as well as they could, and after some hours wandering about found themselves near the wall, and close to the river. The strictest silence was enjoined and observed; but a watchful Chinaman in a junk discovered the Barbarians, gave the alarm, and some random shots were fired, and blue lights burned, which, whether they discovered us to the enemy or not, enabled Colonel Mann to see all that he wanted, and to lay down his tape lines. No men work better than those Madras Sappers, and while the troops were lying silently around them, they made a trench which would hold about two companies in loose order, who could keep down the enemy's fire from the wall. In the middle of the night a bang and a whiz was heard. "What is that, sir?" called out Colonel ——, as loud as he dared to speak, but very softly, to the officer commanding the company? No answer; he

listened, all was still, but a gurgling sound that might mean anything up to the death-rattle in a dying man's throat. "What is that noise, Captain So-and-So; what is it, sir?" "Noise, sir; it was my bottle of beer went off all by itself, and I've just had to drink it sir, that's all."

The work being done, the regiments got back to camp about four o'clock to turn out again at six, and having neither beds or blankets lay down in their wet clothes on the ground—such is the soldier's lot. "Take my boots," said my friend V—— to his servant, "and grease them well, they're wet, and, d'ye hear me, broil that bit of bacon for breakfast." He lay down, anticipating a nice soft pair of boots to march out in, and some broiled bacon to build up the inner man. But, by-and-by, a storm rages in his tent—his boots are brought in hard and dried up, like a chip, and the bacon cold and raw, or nearly so. "What did I tell you to do, you stupid Oaf? I told you to grease my boots and broil the bacon, and what have you done? you've broiled my boots and greased the bacon—get away."

Four companies of the 6th Rifles were turned out at half-past five, under Col. Rigaud, to support two of Barry's Armstrong guns, and two of Desborough's, which were placed below an angle of the river, to keep down the fire of a two-gun battery on the opposite side, and which commanded our advance, and also to silence another battery in some junks at the very elbow of the river which here turns rather

sharply to the south. The junks were soon in a blaze; Captain Wills, with Mr. Philip Mayow, R.N., and a small party of blue jackets crossed the river under a heavy fire, very gallantly spiked the guns, seven in number, and got back again all right.

Our order of advance was as follows: on the extreme left were Rotton's rocket tubes, then Govan's and Milward's batteries, Desborough's and Barry's next, and on the extreme right Hicks's (Madras) rocket tubes. Behind them the First Brigade, the Royals, and 31st; then the Queen's, a wing of the 60th Rifles, and the 15th Punjaub Infantry; the other wing of the 60th having been withdrawn from the bend of the river as the guns were moved, advanced in skirmishing order under command of Colonel Rigaud, in front of the artillery. At about 1000 yards we opened fire on Tankoo, which was briskly replied to; and as the enemy got our range, we limbered up and advanced again, until as we neared the trench which had been made the night before, Sir H. Grant ordered Colonel Rigaud to send two companies of the 60th into it, and accordingly Captain Warren and Mr. Shaw advanced rapidly and sheltered their men, who picked off any of the enemy's gunners that showed themselves. Our guns were now advanced to within about 450 yards, and made splendid practice. I was standing close to Barry's battery, and it was at once a beautiful and yet a fearful sight to see the precision of their fire as the shells struck the exact spot aimed at, and knocked the guns

of the Tartars about their ears, amidst clouds of dust.

In about twenty minutes the enemy's guns were silenced, and the wing of the 60th Rifles, which had been skirmishing in front all along, had been gradually creeping up to the ditch, forward was the word, and in they jumped, scrambling through the mud and water as best they might, up the opposite side, and into the Tankoo work at the angle where it rested on the river, and thus they were the first of the allied force in the place.

The Royals and 31st followed rapidly, and some of our troops had formed and advanced before the French appeared inside. Our casualties were very few and not serious; Sir John Michel lost his charger from a wound in the hind leg from a gingall ball. Inside the work was a scene which no pen can describe; fifteen corpses lay stretched in every variety of ghastly attitude round one gun, at the angle next the river; the men had clearly been working the gun by threes, and by threes had that fearful Armstrong shell sent them to their account; it was indeed an awful sight; limbs blown away, bodies literally burst asunder, one black and lived mass of blood and wounds; I wonder how men could have been got to serve a gun as long as they did under such a fire. Nor was this a solitary instance, the same scene was repeated at every gun. I mention this one because I came upon it suddenly, and it certainly did strike me with horror, while at the same time I felt thankful that since there were

such weapons in existence, they were in our hands, —ours, who would use them more to preserve the peace of the world than ever to make an aggressive or unjust war.

And now John Chinaman sent in a flag of truce, to say that he really did not see why we should fight any more. A soldier of the Buffs, hearing of this, calls out to his comrade, "I say, Jack, did you hear as them fellars has sent in a flag of truce?"

"No; what did they say?"

"Why, they says as they'd rather not fight any more at present; they finds it so *very* disagreeable."

I have substituted the word *very* for another of two syllables, stronger, but not so fit for ears polite.

The work at Tankoo was about two miles round, a sort of irregular square, one side resting on the river; it was a large hut barrack, the huts constructed of reeds and mud, and very comfortable: there were a good many houses also in the centre of the place, plenty of good water and grain, and a small Joss-house, which afterwards formed the Head-quarters. The First Division was marched back to camp, and the Second occupied the place; we returned to breakfast between twelve and one o'clock. And now the work of transport went on with ceaseless activity, and the Quarter-Master-General's department had no sinecure of it. The artillery waggons were employed, as well as everything else available, to bring up stores and ammunition, and the siege guns had

to be dragged along that weary eight miles from Petang; the weather, however, was for the most part in our favour, as we had but one flood during that week.

I shall not easily forget that afternoon; our camps, Head-quarters and all, were pitched on a flat plain, intersected by ditches, and evidently liable to floods from the high tides. One evening—I had ridden that day into Petang on duty—as I returned I found the tide rising rapidly, and my horse wading up to his knees, where in the morning it had been dry. I fixed my anxious gaze in the direction of our tents, and lo! they stood like little ships in the surrounding waters; here was a pleasant prospect! one's little home invaded by the ruthless element, and all the ditching and shovelling in the world could not keep it out.

I rode off in the direction of the river to ascertain the state of the tide, and found that it was at the highest, and had, indeed, just begun to turn. I could not grumble when I saw the camps of the various regiments running with a flood of water, and met the gallant 60th Rifles just returning from a weary march to Petang for their packs, to find their tents eighteen inches under water. Whether, if this had been foreseen, it could have been prevented by any engineering on our part, I cannot say; as the tide fell, the water went away, and before night we had a foot of mud *vice* a foot and a half or two feet of water retired.

A vast deal of labour was expended in bringing up timber from Petang to bridge the river to the south side about half-a-mile above our camp. I believe that this was done chiefly in deference to the views of our gallant allies, as they held the opinion very strongly all through, that the attack should be made upon the southern Forts in the first instance; Sir H. Grant, considering that the northern Fort, which we eventually did assault, was the key of the position, and which opinion the event certainly justified. So strongly, however, did the Commanders-in-Chief differ upon the matter, that when at length the attack was arranged, the French General-in-Chief consented under a protest.

But the bridge was to be built—a bridge of boats. Junks were seized on the river, but the timber to connect them had to be brought from Petang, and certainly the French showed themselves quite our equals at this sort of work, for although their transport was not as good as ours (as we had our artillery waggons at work), they made up in skill and energy for their other deficiencies.

I had occasion to go into Petang on duty several times during that week, which we spent at Sinho, and a more disagreeable ride I never undertook; all along the road you passed on from one sight and smell nearly as evil as it could be, to another worse. "Bono Francey" had murdered all the pigs, but the villain was dainty, and he had cut off the back and hind-quarters, and left the rest to putrify in the

sun; this was all about the town, and round his own camp, which lay on the Petang road. Here you passed every kind of transport animal in every state and stage of decomposition, and at both sides of the road, so that you could not escape. The wretched Manilla pony with his pack beside him, perhaps an officer's kit, or some commissariat stores; the sturdy bullock broken down, and bloating in the sun. I was provided with bags of camphor in anticipation of such circumstances; with one of them stuffed to my nose and mouth, I got through, and avoided the fate from which I have seen a strong man suffer, being fairly taken off his horse by sheer sickness, from the abominations of that road.

I had, however, one pleasant ride during that week. A cavalry reconnoissance was ordered in the direction of Tien-Tsin, along the left, or northern bank of the Peiho, with the double purpose of discovering the nature of the road, and seeing if the enemy were in force in that direction. I joined the party; we started at about six A.M., a charming morning, not too hot at that hour, and rode across the plain, keeping the river on our left. We came to a sort of half-picket, half-farm house, in about five miles' riding, and getting on the roof surveyed the country round, but could see no sign of an enemy in any direction; there were some people lurking about the house, who came forward after a little while from their hiding places, and were very obsequious in their conduct. We pushed on for about six miles more

through the plain, rich in grass and corn, and abounding with snipe and plover round the springs and ditches. I never saw so many of those birds anywhere before; the snipe were constantly getting up in whisps of four, five, and six brace, and we then verged towards a village on the river, where we halted for breakfast.

We left our horses in charge of the dragoons under some trees, and proceeded into a garden, where we found the grateful shade of a most lovely arbour of vines; anything more luxuriant I never saw; the clusters of grapes surpassed, for size form and bloom, any that I had ever seen in Italy; and the beautiful arbour, about seven feet high, into which the vines were trained, with all the rich clusters hanging from the roof, formed a breakfast-room that a monarch might envy. One thing alone was wanting, the grapes "were sour;" yet a week or ten days more and their taste will equal their beauty; but now, alas! they must remain untasted. Our ride, however, had created an appetite which made us very thankful for the good things we had brought with us, even without the grapes; each produced a little store from his wallets—a tin of preserved meat, some ham-sandwiches, some Yorkshire pie, and bread too, very good, baked in our field-ovens. Such was our fare; and some sherry or brandy and cold water washed it down very gratefully. Water and seats and bowls the villagers gave us; but *tea* is a luxury in which these simple country folks do not indulge, in

this part of China; so that my dear young or old lady, if I have the good fortune to be read by any such, you must not be surprised when you hear of the naughty soldiers drinking sherry or brandy-and-water "so early in the morning." *Tea*, the legitimate breakfast beverage, tea I say and repeat, though in China, was not to be had; and failing that, we were forced to content ourselves with the stronger beverage.

The villagers were very civil, and most anxious to get everything for us; and when we had rested ourselves, our men, and horses, we pushed on about four or five miles further, to a large village, where it was reported that a force of Tartar cavalry had been posted; we found, however, no signs of the enemy: the richest of the inhabitants had deserted the place, and the poorer sort crowded round us and "kowtowed." They admired the large horses very much, and the Sikhs attracted great admiration from their gaudy dress and martial appearance. The natives called them "the dark-coloured princes"—but we were all princes for that matter. Here we turned back again, having reconnoitred half the distance to Tien-Tsin. We kept rather more to the east on our march back, and came upon one or two strong entrenchments, which did not appear to have been ever occupied. Our ride home was hot, but very pleasant, and I felt I had enjoyed a delightful excursion.

After the fall of Tankoo, flags of truce, with let-

ters for the ambassadors, were sent into camp at least every other day, and forwarded to Lord Elgin on board the 'Granada' at Petang, and to Baron Gros at the fleet. On the 18th Lord Elgin sent his reply by Mr. Parkes, and Major Anson accompanied him with a flag of truce. A messenger from Hang-Foo, the Governor of the province, met them shortly after they had left Tankoo; and after some parley, in which he refused to allow them to cross the river, and Mr. Parkes, with his usual determination, insisted upon seeing the Governor-General, the messenger consented to carry back Mr. Parkes's "ultimatum," and soon returned with orders to usher them into the august presence. Hang-Foo received them very politely, was extremely anxious that hostilities should cease, and paraded a good many very dirty-looking soldiers, which, to a European eye, did not present a very military appearance.

There is no man in China so fit to deal with the Chinese as Mr. Parkes. He sees through their double dealings (if any man can fathom their deceit) with an eagle glance; he is as plucky as a true British bulldog, and meets their treachery and falsehood by open, honest, straightforward boldness and determination, which bothers your thorough rogue more than anything else, as he imagines that you are playing the same game that he is. Mr. Parkes is thoroughly polite, but does not scruple if he finds the highest official in the realm dealing falsely, to

tell him so; hence the mingled hatred and fear which his name inspires in the minds of all the governing powers in the country. He knows them, and they are quite aware that he does, and as conscious scoundrels they hate him in proportion. The usual methods of "managing" and "taming the fierceness of the Barbarians" are of no use with him; he is "thoroughly intractable." I much wish that every one of our officials in China were of the same stamp; we should then have little more trouble with the country.

The Tartars were evidently prepared for an attack on the south side of the river. The country there was one continued orchard for a depth of about two miles from the river. Into this the French, having crossed the river, advanced, for the purpose of finding a good place for the bridge of boats; they marched up a road, and found themselves engaged with some skirmishers in the orchards which lined it; these they drove in, and came upon an advanced post, strongly defended by a deep ditch and some guns, and occupied by a large number of troops. Though only about 300 strong, they very gallantly outflanked it, and took it, and sent back, by an English staff-officer who accompanied the reconnoissance (Captain Brabazon, R.A.), for some reinforcements, which were at once despatched; and as the Gaul found that an orchard full of fruit of all sorts, with the shade of lovely trees, was a much better place than a flooded plain, he stayed there, and he was quite right. A first-rate fellow at

campaigning is the Gaul; he beats the Briton at that.

There was a charming country residence close to this Tartar post, and it was unfortunately burned. I suppose that it had been occupied by troops, who had fired upon the French from it; otherwise they would have spared it, if for no other reason, for their own sakes. It was built in the same style that prevails in China, courtyard after courtyard, each opening into others, and the rooms on two, three, or four sides of them. In front was an open lawn, with fine timber, and fenced in by deep ditches and tall, thick hedges, which secured privacy, while the house was surrounded by the most exquisite gardens filled with plants and flowers trained in most fantastic forms, and the courtyards were ornamented with flowering shrubs in pots. No damage had been done except by the fire; and it was a melancholy sight to see a place, so lately no doubt an abode of ease, contentment, and luxury, with everything which art and nature combined could give to gratify the taste, reduced to ruins, and nothing of it left but blackened walls, and charred ends of what yesterday was costly furniture; China vases split and blackened, and flowers, hitherto so jealously watched and tended like children, left to be trampled upon and to perish. What would be the feelings of the owners when they should again see the remains of their once peaceful home? I thank God this was the only instance of this sort of destruction which I saw in the campaign.

Cherish your soldiers, O, England! Don't for a moment imagine that you can dispense with your regular army. Arm, and drill too, ye gallant volunteers. You are fine fellows, I am sure, though I have not yet seen any of you. You pay the highest compliment that you can to the army, for your enrolment proves that you would all be soldiers if you could. But be well prepared: if ever England's foes should break through her wooden or her iron walls, there must be a wall of flesh and blood around her shores, which will become a wall of dead men, if need be, rather than that a tongue should live to tell of England's shame, or that an eye of man should ever look upon her dishonour. Trust not to professions of friendship and of peace, come they whence they may; that which would be the basest falsehood and treachery in the man, is supposed to be but a venial diplomacy in the Monarch. England's safety and England's glory must never be risked; she must rely (under God's providence) upon herself alone; and if any eagle is ever brought from the continent to her shores, it must meet with the same fate as the eagle which once left her shores for France. But I am wandering home, and there is yet many a weary mile and weary day between me and home.

Now for the far-famed Takoo Forts. They are five in number, two upon the left, or north bank of the river, and three upon the south bank. The two upper Forts, north and south, are nearly opposite to each other. About three-quarters of a mile further

down lies the second north Fort, and below it, about 400 yards upon the south bank, the one upon which our unsuccessful attack was made in 1859, and the fifth lies close to the mouth of the river upon the same side; there is a strong family likeness among them all.

Our attack was to be made upon the upper northern Fort, and it was on this wise. At daylight on the 19th Sir R. Napier, who was to command the assault, marched out of Tankoo with the 67th Regiment, Milward's battery of Armstrong guns, the Royal Engineers, and Madras Sappers, for the purpose of making roads over the soft part of the mud, bridging the numerous canals, and throwing up earthworks to protect our artillery, and no man could have been chosen more fitted for the task, being himself an engineer officer of great experience, and a tried and skilful general.

Our artillery was placed in two lines or ranks, one in front of the other; Major Pennycuick and Captain Bedingfield commanded two batteries thrown up 600 yards from the Fort, one containing two 8-inch howitzers and two 9-pounders; the other, three 8-inch mortars. In rear of them, and at about twice the distance on the left, were two of Govan's 24-pound howitzers, three of Milward's Armstrongs, next an 8-inch gun of Major Rotton's, and two of Barry's Armstrongs. The French had a few guns on our right next the river.

Anxiously did I watch for daylight on the 21st,

the day of the assault, but somehow I fell asleep just before dawn, and was awakened by the boom of the first gun which was fired. I started from my bed, and called to my servant for a horse; a naval friend who was staying with me jumped up with equal speed, and we were soon on horseback and galloping in the direction of the Forts. We passed Lord Elgin, who had come up from on board ship at the Petang river a day or two before, to witness the attack, riding by himself to the front.

At Tankoo we were gratified by the opening of a battery right across the river upon us; this had been expected, and a couple of Barry's Armstrong guns were brought to bear upon it. One chief interest in this campaign has been to watch the first trial of the Armstrong guns, and I was soon down at the edge of the river at the south gate of Tankoo, watching our fire and that of the enemy; as usual, the direction of the Chinese guns was good, but the elevation defective; they sent their shot either short or over our heads, and during that morning not one shot came nearer than within twenty yards of our guns. Not so the Armstrong shells; the first few were short, and burst in the water, but soon they got the range, and then you could see the dust fly, as the shell struck the battery, nor was it long until their fire was slackened, and they were eventually silent. Mr. Hosier, R.A., is the officer who has the credit of that morning's work at Tankoo.

The force engaged on the 21st consisted of the

artillery already named, the 44th and 67th Regiments, Royal Marines, about 350 strong; Major Graham's company of Royal Engineers, 200 Madras Sappers, and some small Madras guns. The French had about 1000 men, besides half-a-dozen rifled cannon. The 'Drake,' 'Woodcock,' 'Clown,' and 'Janus,' gun-boats, were to attack the lower north Fort at the same time, and also four French gun-boats.

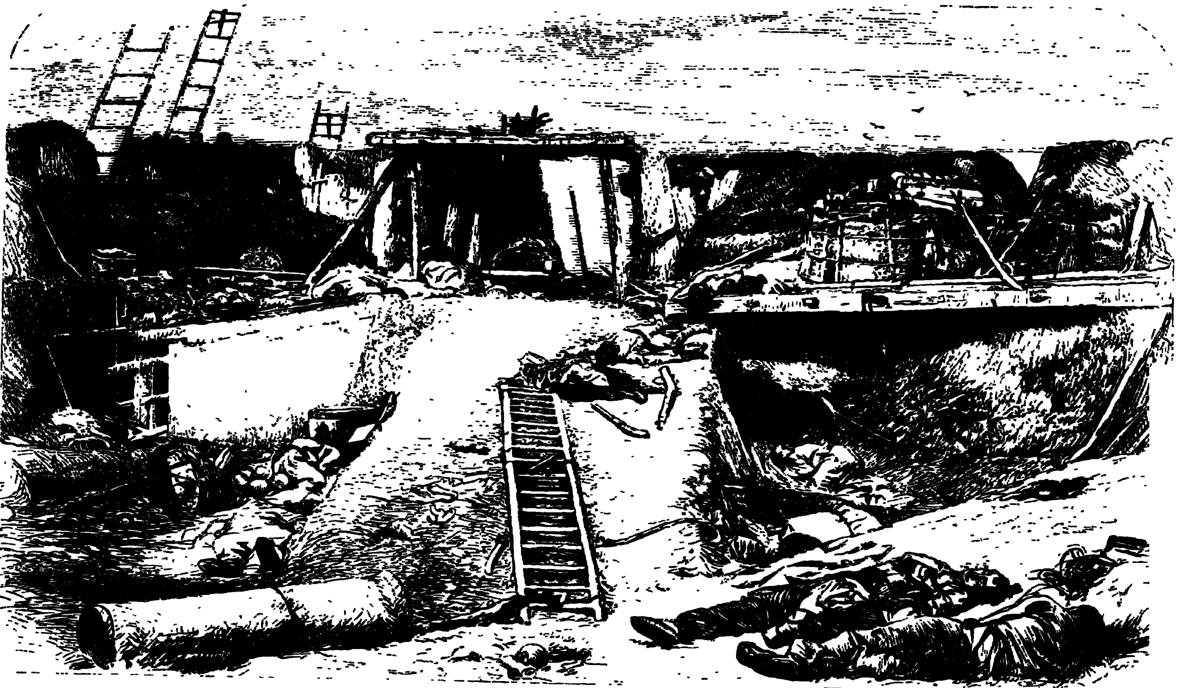
At daylight on the 21st they marched out of Tankoo, and half-an-hour afterwards the French column moved off from the same place, to the right between us and the river, and almost as soon as we were visible, the enemy opened fire from every gun which could be brought to bear upon the attack, not only from the two northern and upper south Fort, but from several batteries along the river's edge near the village of Takoo, armed with heavy guns.

Milward's Armstrongs were the first to open the ball upon our side, and in a short time every gun we had was in action, and a fearful storm of shot and shell was poured into the devoted Forts, while the Chinese maintained their fire with determination for more than two hours. A tremendous explosion took place in the upper north Fort at about six o'clock, occasioned by the blowing up of a magazine by one of our shells, and another soon after was exploded in the lower fort on the same side; the noise of these was such that the guns sounded like pop-guns, and I was assured by some officers who were at Petang that day, which must

be six or eight miles off as the crow flies, that it shook the ground there like an earthquake, and made the dogs run round and round as if they were giddy. Still the Tartars stood to their guns bravely, although their fire was not destructive; our heavy guns in position were well sheltered, and our field artillery was not stationary, so that they could move before the enemy had got their range.

The field guns had now advanced to within about 500 yards of the Fort, and poured their fire on the gateway which had been built up with earth and timber. Partially protected by this fire the 44th and 67th advanced close to the ditch, which the Engineers and Royal Marines were endeavouring to bridge with very nice-looking pontoons, which had doubtless been tried and answered admirably upon the Serpentine, but proved themselves of no use here, as being unweildy; all the exertions of Major Graham and both the Sappers and Marines proved unavailing; both he and the officer commanding the Marines were wounded, and a large proportion of their men, before they desisted from their vain attempts, and at last a plank was obliged to perform that important duty, but not before a number of both regiments had crossed by wading up to their necks and swimming.

A perfect storm of matchlock and gingall balls was poured from the walls upon the storming and pontoon parties, together with arrows, spears, and shot, stinkpots, and lime-baskets, enough to have damped the courage of any troops except those



INTERIOR OF THE ANGLE OF NORTH FORT ON 21ST AUGUST, 1860.

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engaged; but neither the English or French ever gave way an inch or faltered for a moment. Ladder after ladder was thrown back upon the assailants or dragged over the wall; officers and men were thrust back wounded from the embrasures; at length Mr. Rogers of the 44th managed to scramble through an embrasure, although wounded in the act, at the same time as the French entered from the angle next the river. Colonel Knox, 67th, Mr. Burslem, Mr. Lenon, Mr. Chaplin, most of them wounded, were among the first in, while Captain Gregory, 44th (whose conduct was distinguished by coolness and courage throughout the assault), Colonel Mann, R.E., Mr. Prichard, R.E., Mr. Kempson, 99th, aide-de-camp to Brigadier Reeves, and the Brigadier, (wounded in three or four places,) were equally fortunate. Mr. Chaplin, followed by Kempson, rushed up to the top of the cavalier to plant the 67th colours, which they succeeded in doing, although Mr. Chaplin was twice hit while carrying the colour, once in the leg and also in the arm.

The scene inside the Fort is hardly to be described, the Tartars fighting still with desperation against fearful odds, even their wounded, shooting at our men as they passed, for numbers of both French and English were now inside. Colonel Anson and Colonel Mann cut down the drawbridge across the ditch, which the former with Captain Grant had swam on horseback, until their horses stuck, when they left them there and struck out on their own account.

But while some fought thus desperately, others fled, but only to meet their fate outside the Fort; many were shot down and transfixed by the sharp bamboo spikes which extended between the wall and the ditch for twenty or twenty-five feet in width, and lay there a fearful spectacle; many were drowned endeavouring to cross the river, and the havoc which our fire had made, caused it to be a matter of wonder to everyone that they should have held out so long and so gallantly as they did. Their dead lay in heaps round their guns and scattered through the Fort, bearing witness to the excellence of our weapons, and the accuracy of our fire.

CHAPTER VIII.

Recovery of Guns taken in 1859—The Wounded—Surrender of the South Forts—Favourable Weather—Wet Tents—Camp Dinners —Crimean Steaks—Grumblers at Home—A dead Horse.

WE found above forty guns in this one Fort, many of them of brass and of heavy metal. The cavalier mounted three, two large brass Chinese guns, and a 32-pounder iron gun (English), taken from the gun-boats last year. I witnessed an amusing scene shortly after the Fort was in our possession. Admiral Hope was looking over the place, and Sir H. Grant with him; they arrived at the cavalier. "Ah," said Sir H., smiling good-humouredly, and patting the English 32-pounder, "look here, Admiral, one of your own guns; very happy to have the pleasure of giving it back to you again." The reply was not "apropos," and showed that the subject was not relished. "Ah, what about the landing of those horses that have just arrived from Japan."

Our wounded were carried to Tankoo in doolies, where there was very good hospital accommodation ready for them. I saw one poor fellow, a sapper on the field, mortally wounded, having been shot through

the body at the ditch. I knelt beside him and said such things as I deemed fit for a man in his state to hear, words of mercy and of comfort. He said, "Oh, don't talk to me about those things now, sir; I am in such pain that I cannot listen to you." I could not help reflecting that of all men in the world a soldier should ever be prepared to meet his God. I was surprised to find a soldier of the 67th reading a small book inside the fort soon after it was stormed, and on inquiry I found that the man was reading the morning Psalms from his prayer-book. The wounded Tartars were looked after by Surgeon Home, V.C., who was attached to head-quarters; and it was amusing and pleasant to see one poor fellow, not very badly hurt, sitting on a gun in the cavalier beside the General, and eating ham-sandwiches, and drinking claret and water from Captain Grant's hand.

The Buffs and 8th Punjaub Native Infantry had by this time arrived, and Colonel Wolseley having reported to Sir H. Grant that the ground between the two northern Forts was practicable for artillery, as he had just made a single-handed reconnoissance close up to the lower one, and had been well "potted" at, and (more fortunate than he was at Rangoon and in the Crimea) not touched, an advance was ordered to be made against it. Just at this moment, however, flags of truce were displayed, and the war-like banners on the Forts lowered; upon Mr. Parkes inquiring from an official who was sent to meet him and Major Sarel, whether they were prepared to

make an unconditional surrender of all the Forts at once, he received a very insolent reply, that having taken only one we had no right to the other four; that Lord Elgin might indeed pass up the river, but that if he wanted the other Forts "he must come and take them." Report said at the time that Mr. Parkes treated this gentleman to a box on the ear for his impudence. I do not vouch for the fact at all, but I am sure I hope that it is true; and I am certain that if he did, it served him very right.

A rapid advance was now made on the lower fort; not a shot was fired, and 2000 men surrendered themselves prisoners. They were quite right, as in addition to our own guns we had those of the upper fort, commanding them thoroughly and ready to blow them into the air, as also the two nearest on the south side. The prisoners were sent across the river, and again Mr. Parkes with Colonel Anson crossed to learn the intentions of the Chinese. After some difficulty, he found the Governor-General, who of course endeavoured to gull "the Barbarian." But no, that could not be done; he said that he had not got possession of the Forts, and could not therefore surrender them, but that he must refer the matter to the Commander-in-Chief, *who unfortunately was dead.* Mr. Parkes, however, brought him to his senses by telling him that the Forts and the town and every one in them (as their batteries at the town had fired on us) would be undoubtedly blown

up next morning. He saw that Mr. Parkes was in earnest, and not to be done, so he at once signed the surrender, and the south Forts were that night occupied by French and British troops.

Thus fell the Takoo Forts on August 21st, 1860, with a loss upon our part of only 200 officers and men killed and wounded, and on that of our gallant allies of 100 more, while that of the Tartars was estimated at 1800. Everyone was anxious to inspect that one, which had repulsed our brave tars and marines the year before, and those who could do so availed themselves of the earliest opportunity. It was much more heavily armed than that which we had attacked, mounting twenty-five large brass Chinese guns—one 68-pounder, three 32-pounders, three 24-pounder brass howitzers, and one ten-inch gun taken from our gun-boats, besides a host of smaller guns, above 200 in all. The ditch was twice as wide and twice as deep as that which we had to cross; and, worst of all, the ground around it (with the exception of the causeway which was of course commanded), a thorough swamp. It was no wonder that our brave admiral, for brave he is and thoroughly determined he proved himself upon that occasion, found it impregnable, and that our marines were repulsed from a place which three times their number could not have taken at any sacrifice of life.

I must not omit to mention a fact which all felt much at the time, and which the Chinese as well as ourselves took notice of. The state of the mud round the north

forts depended upon two things, the tides and the rain. During a high tide, the ditches were overflowed and the ground swamped, so that the lightest guns could not cross it; this was guarded against by choosing a time of low tides for the assault, but a heavy fall of rain (and it knows how to rain in China when it does come down) would produce a like effect. For dry weather we were dependent upon the will of Providence, and we were favoured with it for some days before, so that the mud got hard and baked by the hot sun. But no sooner were our operations over, and the forts ours, than a tremendous storm of thunder and rain broke from the heavens. If it had come a few hours earlier, it would have rendered us perfectly helpless. "Ah," said the Chinese, "you took the Forts because the heavens were against us." I hope and believe that we were thankful for the aid which we received; and it was certainly made very plain to us that we should have been unable to do anything had the weather been adverse, by the sudden change which took place in the state of the ground from one heavy shower. An Irish soldier, attached to me, described it in the hearing of a friend of mine afterwards to his servant, thus,—"And there was the master gallopin home like mad, to get out if the wet, and there was I, wid mee boots off and down to mee knees in mud every yard I'd travel." This tickled my friend Colonel R.'s fancy, who insists that when an Englishman (as he is) travels in a country of that

sort he is *up* to his knees in mud, not *down*. I was not exactly "galloping like mad" either, for the road was too deep for that.

A precious state we found our camp in when we returned; my Madras boy, idle like most of his race, had neglected to shut my tent and clear the drain round it, so I found it full of water, a pleasant place to spend the evening in. I make it a rule, however, not to grumble about what I cannot help, and as our little party lay round the sides of another bell tent (the owner of which, our worthy mess manager, allowed us to dine there), at eight o'clock that evening, in every possible and impossible attitude, we soon forgot our little "désagréments," rejoiced to meet again all unhurt, although some of the party had been in the hottest of the fire.

Those dinners in a campaign, what curious and uncertain things they are! Today, luxury, positive luxury, fresh mutton, fowls, vegetables, perhaps a salad; tomorrow, a piece of ration beef as hard and tough as the sole of your boot, and some biscuit very fit companion for it; but never mind, you get used to these things campaigning. We had a most cunning dish every day, it was a stew; I never knew or asked what was put into it, that would have been unwise. My impression, however, is that it had everything in it that could be got, and when the meat was "ration," the disguise which the *stew* gave it was so strong (ration meat requires a disguise sometimes), that you could

not recognize it. We never were reduced to such an extremity in our "cuisine," as a friend of mine was in the Crimea during the hard winter there. He told me the story, thus—

Two officers (whose names I do not mention as they are both alive and well now, and in command of two cavalry regiments, so I spare their feelings) came to his tent one evening on their return from the front, wet and weary, and received a cordial invitation to share his dinner, which no one gave with a better grace or warmer heart than he did, and gives still, I am glad to say, for a worthier fellow does not live; he is now settled down quietly in the country, and "soldiers" no longer. He was known to have a good supply of whatever was to be had (as he was not far from Balaclava), and a very clever Maltese private servant who was such a good cook that he could make the most of anything, so that it did not require much pressing to induce the two dragoons to stay.

He went out to his servant's little hut to desire him to get dinner for three instead of for one, when, to his horror, he found that there was only some wretched morsel cooking for himself, which it would have been a mockery to place before his hungry guests, and that there was nothing more, not a tin of soup, or of meat of any sort, or a morsel that could be converted into food.

He was determined that come what might his guests should be fed; so he told his servant to go

first to this, then to that other friend, and so on; and failing all these, he cast him upon his own resources, giving him one strict injunction, *not to return empty-handed*, which order the man knew was not to be disobeyed with safety. In due time, and sooner than he expected, notice was given that the dinner was ready, and a good dish of steaming hot steaks appeared, which looked very well, and though not very fat, were, in those days, by no means to be despised. Ample justice was done to them, and though the larder had been empty the cellar was not dry, so, when the second dish of the same appeared, the first having been washed down by liquor more welcome from its scarcity, the two dragoons felt that their host never had treated them better, and a very pleasant evening they had of it.

At night, in his bed, something struck a suspicion into my friend's mind as to the origin of the steaks, and he could not get rid of the idea or sleep for thinking of it. There was something about the shape of the steaks, which struck him as peculiar, and he could not think of anything else. When daylight came he found his way to the road at a short distance from his tent, and then, oh, horror of horrors! his worst fears were confirmed: a horse which had dropped there on the previous afternoon (he had seen it) had been visited, and, being in tolerable condition, several long steaks had been cut from his chine, the identical shape of those with which he had entertained his two friends the night before. Dis-

gust and fury seized him. He rushed back to his tent, but the cunning Maltese had seen him, guessed the cause of his haste and bolted, nor was he ever afterwards seen in our lines; so much the better for him I should say.

"Ye gentlemen of England, who live at home at ease," who have your breakfasts laid with all the neatness and punctuality which the good management of your excellent wives secures to you, and who do not scruple to growl if the butter is either too hard or too soft, or the eggs laid yesterday, or the cutlets not quite tender, or the coffee not as hot as it might be. Ye who dine, dine at "the club," just fancy a club dinner! with that pint of "curious old do." And better, far better still, ye who are greeted on your return from your day's work by a patter of little feet, with the accompaniment, "Papa, papa," and the pleasant smile of that sweet face which robbed you of your peace of mind years ago, but has paid it all back again ten thousand-fold since (God bless all such good faces!) while one seizes your hat (you don't like that, for a man respects his hat), another your gloves, another your stick, another your dust-coat, and bless me, they cling about you, and dance before you, as if you had been away for a month, yet you saw them all at breakfast. "You look tired, John; will you have a biscuit and a glass of wine, or will you wait till dinner?" "You 'll wait." "Kate, my love, go and tell the cook to be punctual with dinner."

Little Johnny runs up to your dressing-room and is ready with the bootjack, and puts his tiny foot upon the toe of your boot, chattering all the while about Fan's pups; one of them has both eyes open; there's news for you! and tells you how Thompson, that keeps the livery-stable, his great, big cock flew over the wall at dinner-time, and went to beat "Charley," the bantam, and how Charley flew at him and he at Charley, "till I ran out with the hearth-brush, and gave him such a beating you never saw; wasn't he a nasty, cowardly bird to go and try and beat a little bird, and wasn't Charley plucky? Only think, he tried to fly over the wall after Thompson's cock. I love Charley; but I don't think the big cock will come here again; I gave it him, I did; didn't I serve him right, papa?"

You have washed your hands and face (Johnny had the towel ready for you) and changed your clothes. Do look pleasant and be cheerful; things are not as square as they might be in the city, but don't you be sour, whatever you do; be thankful for the goods you have, and bless your stars that you are not soldiering at Takoo, or some equally agreeable place; and if the plates are not hot, and the gravy does "freeze," don't get savage, and tell your wife, "It's always the same." And when you lie down in your comfortable bed, with well-aired sheets and carpeted floor, think sometimes of those, as well-born and delicately brought up as you, who are stretched on a wet rug, with

heavy boots on, and a foot deep of mud all round them, with a close heat which causes an unwholesome damp steam that you could sit upon, and never grumble at your hard lot, or at the Army Estimates.

From such a sleep as only the weary know, and in such an atmosphere, and from such a couch as I have hinted at, I was awakened next morning after the fall of the Forts by a dusky vision of a soldier standing at the tent door, and thus addressing me.

"I'd like to get that pony away, sir, as soon as I could."

I sat up, rubbed my eyes, and made a strong call upon my memory to try and find out the meaning of what he said. Whose pony did I borrow, thought I, that he wants to get rid of; but I could not recollect having anybody's animal in use except my own.

"What are you talking about?" I replied, sadly mystified as to what he could mean.

"Nothing, sir; only I was just sayin' that I'd like to get that pony away as soon as I could; only I'd like to take the shoes off iv him first, for sure it was only a couple of days ago I got him shod beyant at Captain Desborough's batthery."

I began to think that I must be asleep, so I gave myself another shake.

"What *are* you saying, man; what *are* you talking about? Sending away a pony and taking his shoes off. I don't understand a word you say, nor do I think you know what you are talking about yourself. *Whose* pony; *what* pony do you want to send away?"

"Why, *your* pony, sir, that that other gintleman was ridin' yistherday; only I was saying I'd like to take his shoes off first; for why would I lose them, and they so dear?"

Deeper and deeper still. One of us must be mad or drunk, I thought. He wants to send away my bay cob, the pick of 200 ponies, and to take his shoes off that I was so particular about, as he never had been shod before.

"Are you drunk?" I said, "or what do you mean? If you are sober, explain yourself; I don't understand one word you say. So, if you cannot explain what you mean, go away."

Touched by my insinuation as to his sobriety, he replied—"Why, thin, I am as sober as I was the day I was born, sir; and as to dhrink, long as I'm wid you, when did you ever see the sign of liquor on me? and, indeed, if I wouldn't git hearty on the dirthy water, its little else I'd be in danger of drinkin' here. But sure your Rivirence can do as you like, and keep him as long as its plazin' to you. But I was only saying *I'd* like to get him away soon, for he'll begin to smell directly; isn't he swelled as big as two already; *shure didn't he die on me last night?*"

Sorry as I was to lose my pony, one of the finest cobs I had ever seen, I confess that I burst out into a hearty fit of laughter till I shook again at the strange mode in which my Paddy had chosen to communicate the "sad intelligence."

On inquiry I found that an officer's servant at

Tankoo, where my naval friend had put up the cob the day before, had given him his fill of Indian corn (and he was a glutton and very fat), and then as much water as he chose, and the result was as might have been expected. He was one of the finest beasts I ever saw; I had got him about ten days before, from a lot of about 200 Tartar "remounts," which Probyn's or Fane's horse had captured in the plain on the 12th. These animals, which the Chinese cavalry are mounted upon, are from thirteen and a half to fourteen and a half hands high, well and strongly made, though not often handsome; of great endurance, fast and very sure-footed. One which Probyn got, taken by one of his own sowars at Changkeawhan, a piebald, was about fifteen hands high, and by far the handsomest horse I have seen in China. He was perfect. Probyn took him to India.

From our damp camping-ground at Sinho we were moved into Tankoo, which was a change for the better, inasmuch as anything almost is to be preferred to a bell tent, and there we got into a house; but the place was very dirty, and had an evil smell, and everyone rejoiced in the prospect of a speedy change of quarters to Tien-Tsin.

CHAPTER IX.

Gardens—"Great Kings"—Up the Peiho—Diplomacy—Advance on Pekin—Transport—A Morning's March—A Bantam Cock—Hooseewoo—Grapes—Advance from Hooseewoo—Chinese Treachery—Walker's Escape—Our Surprise—Proposed Camping Ground—Battle of Changkeawhan—Probyn's Charge—A narrow Escape.

THE country on the south bank of the river from the Forts, up beyond the bridge of boats, for a distance of some miles, was one continued garden and orchard; vegetables of various sorts were cultivated with great care, sweet potatoes, bringalls, chillies were abundant, while above on standard trees hung peaches, nectarines, apples, and pears in the richest profusion. These fruits were just now ripe, and as the owners had deserted them, we paid our respects to them very diligently. The French were encamped in these gardens, and they certainly had much the best of it, as they had abundant shade, while our poor fellows were still on the arid plain. A few days after the capture of the forts a commission was sent round to ascertain the number of the guns taken, and to divide them with our allies. It was a business which occupied more than one day, and the officers were obliged to sleep on some straw in a joss-house,

and get provisions as they could. They had sent out by a native overnight to get any sort of the country produce that could be had, and these provisions were to be brought in next morning. So, as they lay in the straw very much tumbled, very unwashed, and looking anything on earth but their best, about six o'clock a Chinaman thrusts his head into the room through a trap-door, and calls out in a most respectful tone in his native tongue, "Arise, O great kings, fish and fowl have arrived." When they were made aware of the Chinaman's address, the effect was irresistible. Feeling anything but *royal*, very dirty, and very mean, they could not but laugh at the idea of such mighty monarchs lying unwashed and uncombed on a couch of straw.

But we were not destined to remain long at Tankoo, and so much the better. Admiral Hope went up the river in a gun-boat to Tien-Tsin, and meeting with no enemy, the way was clear for Sir H. Grant and staff, or rather a part of the staff, to proceed up the river on the 25th. The rest of the staff followed in a few days. I shall not soon forget the kind hospitality which we met with from Captain —— on board the 'Carthage.' We were to have brought our own provisions and received merely a passage from him, but he would not hear of such an arrangement; he provided a most sumptuous repast for us on deck under a double awning, supplied abundance of champagne for those who liked it, and draught beer for those who preferred that,—an unheard-of

luxury in those days,—and above all, we had a snow-white table-cloth, a sort of thing to think of and hold on by, so that really upon the whole you felt quite inclined to pull up the gills of your shirt, if you had any, or at all events to go through the form of diving for them, like "Mr. Montague Tigg did!"

The 'Carthage' was about as large a vessel as could navigate the Peiho, drawing about thirteen feet of water, but by good management she was brought up. We arrived next morning at Tien-Tsin (having anchored in the river at dark), took up our quarters in a temple near the river, and remained there until the 9th September. The interval was passed in inglorious rest. It was beyond doubt the universal opinion at the Embassy that the war was at an end, and of course the army took their view of politics from the diplomatic circle. The siege-train was to be embarked; the Royals were under orders for *home*, and various dispositions of the army were announced, which all spoke peace, and which were made doubtless from representations received by Sir H. Grant from Lord Elgin.

The question anxiously discussed at Tien-Tsin was this, who was to go to Pekin as the escort to Lord Elgin, for in that light alone the advance of a part of the army was viewed. It was said (and I believe not without foundation) that Lord Elgin (never backward to incur personal risk in any form) had determined to proceed to the capital with an escort of 1000 men, but, however this may be, it is

certain that it was definitely arranged between the Ambassador and the Commander-in-Chief that an escort should proceed with Lord Elgin to Pekin, and I know that the arrangements were so far matured as that the King's Dragoon Guards were named for that service as part of the force; the French having no cavalry, were to have taken the horses from their guns, and had begun to train them to cavalry movements. Guns were not to form any part of this force.

The Commissioners sent from Pekin to treat with Lord Elgin stipulated that all our artillery should remain behind, as they said our guns were so formidable that they would "disturb the minds of the inhabitants" if they were brought northward. Subsequent events proved what fearful treachery the Chinese Government was then plotting against us, and how a good and gracious Providence was watching over us to prevent us from falling into the snare. ("Draw me out of the net that they have laid privily for me.") On the 6th the Commissioners Kiuliang and Hang-Foo announced, through Mr. Parkes, C.B., when it could no longer be concealed, that they had exceeded their authority in the preliminary arrangements which they had made with reference to the signing of the Treaty, and that they could not vouch for their views being carried out by the Chinese Government.

Great was the surprise caused by this announcement, but in the army the feeling was in general one

of satisfaction, expressed thus, "Hurrah! now we shall all go to Pekin!" And truly enough the advanced part of the force marched out of Tien-Tsin on Saturday the 8th and Sunday the 9th September, and on Sunday night we all encamped at Pookow. Sir H. Grant and his staff having ridden out after divine service on Sunday. Lord Elgin accompanied the force, which consisted of the King's Dragoon Guards, Fane and Probyn, the 99th, Royal Marines, one Punjaub regiment, with Desborough's, Barry's, and Sterling's guns. The country through which we marched on Sunday and Monday was flat and uninteresting, except the amount of interest which the soldier must ever feel in a country which he at one glance perceives is competent to supply him with any amount of fresh provisions, vegetables, and fruit.

I do not think that the everlasting "three days' cooked rations" were much relied upon during this journey. Fowls were to be had in any number for *love* or for money, and I imagine that the former generally ruled the market, as Scott says that it rules "the court, the camp, the grove." On Monday we encamped at Yangk-Tsun, close to the river, which ran upon our right, and we were obliged to remain there on Tuesday, because the drivers of a large number of country carts, which had been hired at Tien-Tsin to convey the baggage and stores of Lord Elgin and Sir H. Grant, decamped in the night, taking their mules with them, but leaving be-

hind the carts, which they could not remove, as they were under sentries.

Here was a difficulty. How was the army to progress without these stores? Parties were sent into the country to press all the animals and carriages they could find, and with some success; but Colonel Anson walked quietly down to the river's bank, and seeing a string of boats passing by, jumped on board one of them and seized the whole number. John Chinaman yielded at once, was charmed at the sight of the "almighty dollar," and engaged himself body and boat to his country's foes, and all the stores, &c., &c., not required for immediate use, were put on board the boats, and thus conveyed up the river under escort, and we were enabled to march the next morning.

Out we turned at about five A.M., the usual cup of tea having been administered with the customary success, tents struck while you are drinking it, and the tea cup or tin tot put in your haversack or wallet. A ride of this sort in the early morning, before it gets too hot, is not without its enjoyment. You start with your next neighbour, and when the conversation begins to flag, drop your heel into your horse, and ride on along the line, and a varied picture it presents; with so many Indian troops as we had in China you gain something of an idea of an Indian campaign, but only *something*. There were the Punjaubees, and very fine fellows they are, tall and muscular, though small, very small, in the leg,

and this small leg exaggerated by the tightest possible cotton trowser, tighter than the skin, but somehow they can march on those limbs, and march well, even better than some of our own battalions. You certainly would not think so to look at them. Then Probyn's Horse and Fane's Horse, that one is never tired of looking at and admiring, they seem to be such thorough soldiers, and a *beau idéal* of light cavalry; you cannot help wishing that we had some *light* cavalry in our own army.

Then there are any amount of camp followers, niggers of all sorts, carrying most awkward loads in a most ungainly manner; others driving the most wretched of Manilla ponies, ten to one he never gets to the end of the march. Happy is the man who has renounced all except private carriage, and puts his trust in two Tartar beasts, mules, ponies, either or both, and a snug country cart, got, obtained, bought (*perhaps*, but not at all likely), still gotten however, and carrying his baggage, that man will be well off at the end of the day; nor am I bold to say that when you are at war it is untenable in morals that you should impress private carriage. Our commissariat impressed every beast they could lay their hands on, took them bodily away from the owners without leave or licence except from the Commander-in-Chief, and if they had not taken them our army would never have got to Pekin.

I recollect being greatly amused by a little bantam cock on that very march. He was tied by the legs,

so that he could not perch on the top of a mixed load of tent-poles and tin pots and more such furniture, and this load was on a pony's back; his head was as often hanging down as in any other position, but by a vigorous flutter he sometimes got upright, and then he let off a succession of crows, dwelling on the final note, as much as to say that he felt himself equal to any other cock in creation, and did not care one button for all the ills of life.

I could not help admiring him, and thinking what a pattern little cock he was to bear all his troubles in such a triumphant spirit. We encamped at Nant-sai-Tsun and marched next morning, Thursday, for Hooseewoo, a considerable town on the river; we did not take up quarters in the town, nor were our men permitted to enter it; we camped outside, and some few of us got into temples, which was much pleasanter than being exposed to the sun in a bell tent.

Ceres is, I believe, the goddess, not exclusively of corn, but of fruits, and therefore I would seek her inspiration to tell of the wondrous fruits which we found here. Bacchus presides especially over the grape, but his inspiration is of too spirituous a character, and here where I write at this present you might, if so "dispoged," as Mrs. Gamp says, seek it in vain, as there is no wine to be had but "winkler's" stuff, which is as innocent of the grape as a lamb. Never did I see such an abundance of splendid grapes in my life as at Hooseewoo. I went out

early in the morning before the sun was strong, and wandered into a garden near the town, taking a coolie, a basket, and some Chinese cash, which, as all the world knows, are the current coin of the Empire, a round bit of brass about half-a-farthing's weight, with a square hole in the centre by which they are strung in knots of a couple of hundred. You get about a thousand of them for a dollar.

I saw a "little hut among the bushes," and found three or four men in it, and one old fellow who was evidently the master. They "chinchinned" very politely, and I showed them some cash to prove the honesty of my intentions, when they unlocked another door out of the hut which opened into such a grapery as I never saw before or since. It was an arbour composed completely of vines, so thick that the densest rays of the sun could not penetrate it; about forty yards long by fifteen wide and fifteen or twenty feet high, and from the roof and sides hung clusters of the fruit, for size, bloom, beauty of form and flavour, surpassing anything I had ever seen. In a minute several of the finest bunches of different sorts were placed in a basket at my disposal, and I began to dispose of them pretty fast,—they were as cool as the night dews, and I am almost ashamed to reflect upon the quantity of them that I devoured. While feasting thus, I selected a very large basketful of the finest clusters for our mess, somewhere about thirty or forty pounds weight, and I then went out into the garden and got another basket of vegetables

of various sorts (but I cannot praise the vegetables in the north of China), and then came the important question of payment; these unsophisticated folks did not yet know that mighty question which John Chinaman so soon learns from the European "how much" "combineno;" so I laid before the old gardener a quantity of cash and made signs to him to help himself; he had previously weighed both the grapes and vegetables, and to my no small amazement he took about half-a-dollar's worth of cash for all that I was carrying away and all I had eaten, and seemed quite pleased with the bargain. I tell this story at length to show that there *is* one honest Chinaman in the Empire, as some people doubt it.

Hooseewoo is rather a picturesque place. The town itself is, like all other towns of its class in China, poor and dirty, with nevertheless some good houses in it. Lord Elgin had a very excellent house on the outskirts of the town; but the ground in the neighbourhood is undulating and well planted, which was a great relief after the flat and monotonous country through which we had hitherto marched. Here we remained until Monday morning, and between the scenery around and everything else, we liked the place very well. Our delay was caused by the negotiations which were being carried on between the Chinese Government and the Plenipotentiary, also we waited the arrival of some more troops, and it was finally arranged between Mr. Parkes and the Prince of I, or Ai, that we were to encamp on a

place marked out by the Chinese authorities within three miles of Changkeawhan, six of Tungchow, and fifteen of Pekin, and that from thence the Ambassador was to proceed to Pekin with an escort.

From this place (Hooseewoo), it was that, with a confidence unwarranted, as the event proved, and fatal, alas! to several, Mr. Parkes and his party proceeded to Tungchow; but this event must not be anticipated.

On Monday the 17th we marched from Hooseewoo to Matow, where we encamped; and next morning struck our tents before daylight to march, as we imagined, to our permanent camp; and so little did we anticipate anything in the way of fighting, that the customary revolver was put up. The French were marching in advance of us, and one of their staff came back in haste to inform us that the Tartars were in position in front, some two or three miles off. Still, few believed that they could intend to oppose us, as the pacific assurances of "the Prince of I" were of such a definite character. Our baggage was all parked at a village, supposed to be out of range, and we marched on to within about half-a-mile of the Tartar army; but the General and the staff rode on to a mound within about 400 yards of the enemy's guns, from which a good deal of their movements could be seen.

A Mandarin, whether civil or military I do not know, came into our lines in a chair to say that all was right, and that we were to encamp where

we were. Now, I must relate how our position was complicated. Mr. Parkes had gone on from Hooseewoo, accompanied by Mr. Loch, secretary to Lord Elgin, Mr. De Norman, and Mr. Boulby, the 'Times' correspondent, whom a too great zeal, alas! betrayed to a cruel fate. Poor fellow! Little I thought, when he and I waded through the mud together at Petang, how fearful his end would be. They had a small cavalry escort, commanded by Mr. Anderson, Adjutant of Fane's Horse,—another victim of Chinese barbarity, an officer who was deeply regretted by all who knew him. Colonel Walker, of the Quarter-Master-General's department, was also sent on to examine and take up ground for our standing camp, and Mr. Thompson, Deputy-Commissary-General. They arrived at Tungchow, and were put up and entertained by the authorities for two days; and on the morning of the 18th rode out of Tungchow to meet us, as they supposed, at the camping-ground; but when they had arrived at the further side of the town of Changkeawhan, they were surprised to find a large Tartar army drawn up, with a number of guns, in position, behind a road, with a small fordable river in their rear.

Mr. Parkes determined immediately to return to Tungchow, and demand from the Prince of I what the meaning of all this might be. Colonel Walker and Mr. Loch promised to await his return where they were. Colonel Walker was also accompanied by Mr. Thompson, of the Commissariat department.

He retained an escort of some three or four of the King's Dragoon Guards. Mr. Loch rode through into our ranks and reported the state of affairs, announcing his intention of returning to meet Mr. Parkes; and it was suggested that it might be useful if an officer of the Quarter-Master-General's department were to go with him, as he might have an opportunity of observing the enemy's position. This was said in the hearing of poor Brabazon, of the artillery, and I rather think it was suggested to him to volunteer for the duty. Ever ready for service of this sort, and full of zeal in his profession, poor fellow, he started, alas! never to return.

Colonel Walker felt himself in a very precarious position; and so also did one or two French officers who were within the Tartar lines. They were not exactly prisoners, but they felt that if they made a move in our direction they might be seized, as they were followed and watched. The rest of the party had not left Tungchow.

With so many of our people in the enemy's power, Sir H. Grant felt that he could take no decided step; but he was not kept long in suspense. The French had marched off to the right to turn the enemy's left, and with them a squadron of Fane's Horse, commanded by Mr. Catley, while we waited quietly in front of their guns, the Commander-in-Chief and staff, as I have said, on a mound within 400 yards of them. The staff had, for the first and only time during the campaign, brought a small box of

provisions with them, ready for use at any moment, imagining that it would be a long business getting up the standing camp, and about half-past nine we were quietly breakfasting, waiting the course of events, when, without a moment's notice of any sort, a heavy fire was opened on the right of the Tartar position, in front of which their own cavalry were swarming.

"What are they firing at?" we asked in amazement; there was no enemy in front of their right. "Fools, they are firing on their own cavalry," as we saw two empty saddles, and the horses galloping for our lines. While we were speaking, however, a retreat was made by the General and staff from their elevated post; and, as they reached the troops, the cause of the firing was explained. Colonel Walker and Mr. Thompson galloped up with three or four of the King's Dragoon Guards. They had escaped from the Tartars, and run the gauntlet of their fire from large guns, gingalls, matchlocks, and everything that could be brought to bear on them, Mr. Thompson being slightly wounded by a spear, and one man and one horse shot, but not dangerously.

Colonel Walker's story in brief was this. He had begun to feel more and more anxious about the fate of the five men with him, as he was of course bound to consult their safety, as well as his own; he observed active preparations for an attack going on in the Tartar lines, while there was a growing dis-

position to control his movements; once his sword was taken away, but returned to him again; at length a French officer, who belonged either to the Scientific Mission or to the Commissariat, and who had got into the same position as Colonel Walker, was roughly handled by the Tartars, and the back of his head laid open by a sword-cut. Colonel Walker hastened to interfere on his behalf, made signs that he was his friend, and that they should desist from their attack upon him; supported the French officer's head, as he was badly wounded, and spoke some words of comfort and encouragement to him. This appeared to bring matters to a crisis, as to Colonel Walker's own fate and that of his little party; he was surrounded, the scabbard of his sword tilted up and the sword snatched out, his legs were seized and a vigorous attempt made to unhorse him, and two minutes more would probably have made a vacancy in the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the Bays; but it was not so to be; his resolve was taken in a moment, and as promptly carried out; he waved his hand to his men, and called to Mr. Thompson to follow him; they rode through the lines, and forcing their way out to the front were obliged to cross the line of fire of some twenty guns in position before they could reach our army. While Colonel Walker was giving in few words his story to the Commander-in-Chief, a very heavy fire was opened upon us, converging upon one place from guns laid in such a manner

along nearly all their front as to command this spot; some in front, and some raking the whole position from both flanks.

This, know, O Englishmen, was the ground marked out by the Chinese for your army, where we were to have been encamped and butchered in cold blood, only that they were thrown off their guard by the attempt to detain Colonel Walker; and we were not quite so foolish as to encamp with an army and sixty guns in position in our front, within easy range. Colonel Walker had had a serious dispute with the Chinese authorities as to this very place; he said that we must camp along the river, as water was necessary. "Yes," they replied, "but we will carry the water for you." But, no, Colonel Walker would not at all agree to any place that did not give us perfect command of our supplies; they, on the other hand, would not give up the river, as, if they had, they must have lost the strong position in front of it, a raised road along which their guns were laid.

Then, as they kept up till the last moment the pretence of peace, when asked what the meaning of that large cavalry force was which was gradually stealing away to our left, evidently to outflank us, cut off our baggage, and interrupt our communications. The answer was pat, "Oh! they are going to collect provisions for you in the country." And yet with all their villany they were shallow rogues; it was easy to see through this trick. They thought,

no doubt, that as we had been gulled upon former occasions, so we would be now.

Orders were now given to Desborough's guns and Barry's Armstrongs, protected by the King's Dragoon Guards, to open upon their artillery to the front, while Sir John Michel took Sterling's light six-pounders to the left, along with some of Probyn's Horse and the Queen's, to prevent their cavalry from outflanking us on that side, or reaching our baggage, which was in the rear. The 99th were on the right centre, and the 15th Punjaub on the left. The Tartar cavalry was so numerous that it was impossible to do more than guess at their numbers, and you may add to this, that they enjoyed the advantage of being partially covered by the tall millet which was as yet uncut on the ground which they occupied, whereas we were in the open, and our horses galled and lamed frequently by the strong stalks of that corn sticking up everywhere, like pointed stakes, from two to three feet high; and, as they had been all cut with a slope, they were very nasty things to ride through; you were safer galloping than at any other pace.

The Tartars had with their cavalry some gingalls, carried between two horses, and trailing along the ground with its stand, a tripod; one unlucky soldier whose duties required him to stand behind the piece, was invariably knocked over by its recoil; these falls we imagined to be the effect of our own fire, until seeing the men always jump up again, we

learned how it was; with these and their matchlocks they kept up a smart fire, but did not do us much damage, as in order to secure a long range they use great elevation; the consequence is that the ball drops and does not ricochet, so that instead of sweeping over an immense space, as our more direct fire does, and catching anything within its range; the gingall ball will not touch you unless you are unfortunate enough to be on the spot where it drops. We opened fire upon them with our six-pounders, and no doubt astonished them not a little, as we could see by the dust that they were on the move; and after a few rounds Probyn's Horse, who had, man and steed, been standing chafing and champing on the bit with impatience, were let go at them, and anything more brilliant or chivalrous I am at a loss to conceive. I saw it, and were I to witness another battle, I should say let me see such a sight once more. To be counted by tens, they sped like a thunderbolt against thousands of the enemy, and irresistible was the shock; they went through and through them like a cannon shot through a deal board, charged back again, through them again, and then wheeling right and left, pursued.

It was a noble sight, the very thought of it makes the heart bound. Fast, very fast and strong are the Tartar horses, and well was their speed tried by Probyn's sowars; dodging fellows are the Tartar soldiers, well trained as the Indian to stretch along this side of the horse or that, to avoid a shot, a cut,

or a thrust, and all their arts were tried that day, but by many tried in vain, as the ground showed as I rode over it after it had been swept by the little handful of irregulars. In every attitude of death they lay, and many unhorsed and wounded, who feigned death; nor was it safe to go near these fellows, expecting no quarter, they would fire at you from behind, if possible, and in this way several of our men were wounded. I had rather a narrow escape; I was sitting on my horse looking at a Tartar, a remarkably powerful man, stretched in death apparently at my feet, beside him lay a spear decorated with a very handsome flag, and as it happened, being quite unarmed (as no one expected when we marched in the morning that there was to be a fight), I contemplated arming myself for the remainder of the day with the lance of the prostrate enemy.

But just as I was in the act of dismounting, my right foot out of the stirrup, the *dead* Tartar stretched out his hand, seized the lance, and with one movement sprang to his feet; unarmed, I lost no time in placing three or four horses' lengths between myself and the Tartar, and it is difficult to say which of the two was more alarmed, for the Tartar bolted for a village at hand as fast as he could run, he was unwounded; having been simply unhorsed in the charge, he feigned death, but imagining, no doubt, that I was dismounting to despatch him (having discovered the feint), he determined to

fight for it: whereas I, having nothing to fight with (and very glad I am that I had no weapon), and seeing a dead man, as I imagined, come to life, thought that a quick retreat was just the thing for the occasion. The poor fellow, however, was not destined to survive, another officer rode at him and shot him in the back with a revolver, he fell, and the officer drew his sword, but the undaunted Tartar sprang again to his feet, unhorsed the officer with his lance, and again fled; but a sowar of Probyn's (orderly to Colonel M'Kenzie) gave him the fatal thrust. "I'm awful civil to that orderly of mine," said my friend, Colonel M'Kenzie, to me, "I have a great respect for the man since I saw the way he polished off that Tartar; he's the last man in the army I'd like to quarrel with; I've a great respect for him, I assure ye."

Probyn's Horse returned, and no more was seen of the Tartar cavalry on that day, but in the distance.

CHAPTER X.

Burning Camps—Changkeawhan—Looting—Suicides—House of Refuge—The Field of Battle—Home-like Scenery—Coolies—Mickey King—Packing Baggage—Advance of the Tartars—Useless Squares—Charge of the King's Dragoon Guards—Irregulars—Camp and Village burnt—An Armstrong Shell.

MEANTIME in the centre, our artillery having nearly silenced the enemy's guns, Sir H. Grant moved on with the 99th and 15th Punjaub Native Infantry and turned the right flank of their position, without any very great loss to them; and the rest of the day was occupied by us in burning several large camps, which lay to the left beyond the town of Changkeawhan, a range of about four miles; while Probyn's Horse and the King's Dragoon Guards, with the six-pounders, were occupied in pursuing the distant dust of the Tartar cavalry, having spent several hours in endeavouring to catch them, led by Sir John Michel. We could not perhaps safely have left them unwatched, as our baggage was still in the village in our rear, supposed to be out of range of the enemy's fire; but those large Chinese guns carry a long way, for an officer of the Military Train, Captain Goodall, was knocked off his horse and badly wounded by a round

shot, and more than one private soldier also of the baggage guard.

And here, knowing what we now know but did not know then, it appears to be matter of regret that the cavalry and some of the guns were not pushed on to Tungchow, only eight miles from the scene of action, to invest or watch it, or blow in a gate and take it, as they might have done; for then the lives of all the prisoners might have been saved; there was nothing to prevent this, nothing at least when weighed against the safety of so many valuable lives, which were, alas! lost by this one day's delay; but this did not occur to the Commander-in-Chief, or did not suit his plans.

On the right the French, having turned the enemy's position, swept their whole left, and using their infantry more and their guns less, inflicted a more severe chastisement upon the Tartars, as the ground showed when we rode over it the day but one after. Lieutenant Cattley, with a squadron of Fane's Horse, having been attached to the French, highly distinguished himself. The Tartars could not stand against our Armstrong shells, and they had made a clean bolt of it before our infantry could catch them; whereas with the French they fought more, and suffered more in proportion.

About three miles from the scene of action lay the town of Changkeawhan. Through it the road to Tungchow lay, and by that road Sankolinsin retreated his beaten army of 30,000 men, minus killed and

wounded a considerable number; that he commanded in person we learned afterwards, and the amount of his force we learned also from a reliable source. Sir H. Grant had made an accurate calculation of the number of the enemy, as their own authorities subsequently gave that number. Changkeawhan is a large and straggling town, walled, with a river surrounding a large portion of it. It contains, or rather did contain many large warehouses and excellent houses, inhabited by wealthy people; they had nearly all fled, and few remained but the poorer people, and of course the "budmashes;" it had also one mighty pawn-shop. Into this town we marched about 6 P.M., having been in the saddle since 5 A.M., a long day under a baking sun. The infantry were quartered in houses in the town, the cavalry and artillery were encamped just outside it.

This was the first place given up to the troops to plunder by the Commander-in-Chief, and every one thought very justly, as a punishment to the Chinese for their treachery. The Indian troops, the Hong-Kong coolies, and the Indian camp-followers, showed their superiority to the British soldier in the practice of looting. The natives and Indians knew where to look for valuables, and would turn a house inside out while the soldier was thinking how he should get in. I did not hear of anything of real value being found, nor did the benefit which accrued to our force from their plunder equal the one-thousandth part of the punishment inflicted upon the Chinese by their losses.

Some people imagined that tea of great value had been found in two warehouses in the town; it was brick tea, I made some tea of it, but could not drink it, it was so bad. It was, however, all eventually left there when we were returning from Pekin. Many of the women and young girls had been left behind in the houses, and were found by our troops in the quarters which they occupied, and they were treated by our officers and men with the greatest consideration and kindness. Many had destroyed themselves; one young girl flung herself from the stone bridge as the troops were marching over it, on to the dry part of the river's bed, and died with one convulsive shudder. Several families of women were found wholly or partially poisoned by opium; some we succeeded in recovering, but many died.

I took possession of a large house containing several courtyards surrounded by rooms, and from which the owner, a wise man, had not removed. He was promised protection, and a sentry placed on the door; and here I collected all the families which I could find in the town, and had them supplied with provisions during our stay. One fat lady, who had a young daughter and a crowd of about fifteen subordinate women, refused to move from her own house, where it was totally unsafe to leave her. Mr. Swinhoe, the interpreter, exhausted in vain all his eloquence upon her; she said that "our hearts were not true," and "that she did not want to live." At length we lifted her into a cart, her daughter

followed, and the other women also, like sheep. But so inveterate was her distrust, that she had very nearly succeeded in strangling her daughter before the cart reached the house of refuge; the girl was at her last gasp. These poor people, however, soon found out that "our hearts were true," and that we intended nothing but kindness to them. Great consideration was shown by the old gentleman of the house towards his compulsory visitors, he supplied them with attendance, &c., &c.; and the surgeon of the 2nd Queen's was most kind in his endeavours to recover those who had endeavoured to poison themselves with opium, and succeeded in several cases.

We remained at Changkeawhan until the morning of Friday the 21st. The country round it was far from uninteresting, and each day of our stay I rode out for an hour or two in the afternoon; on the 20th I rode over the ground of our engagement on the day but one before. Soon after we left the southern gate of the town we came upon the first traces of the battle, unhappy Tartars who had been wounded and come so far in their retreat, but had dropped and died, unheeded and unburied; the sun had in that short time blackened them and swelled their corpses to a frightful size. As we went on, and came to their line of defence, we could not but admit that it was well chosen and very strong; a raised road, fourteen or sixteen feet wide and varying from six to eighteen feet in height, made an admirable parapet; through this they had cut embrasures, and their line

of defence extended, I should say, for about a mile-and-a-half; they had about sixty large guns in position, besides a large number of smaller field-pieces on carriages, moveable by horses from point to point as occasion might require.

Round each gun were the bodies of the unfortunate artillerymen in every attitude of frightful death, mangled first by our Armstrong shells, and rendered tenfold hideous by the effect of forty-eight hours of a Chinese climate, which appears to possess a singular potency in putrefaction. The telling effect of our fire was more palpable as we came to their centre, where our guns first opened upon them, and where they made the longest stand; their breastworks of trees torn and shattered like grass by the Armstrongs, and those fatal fragments dealing death wherever they touch, now tearing away the side of a head, so that you could hardly tell it was a head except from its relative position to the other members of the corpse; now striking the body, and tearing a canal from abdomen to shoulder as it burst upwards, exposing all the viscera; again, a limb, and leaving nothing but a fine shred of skin at the fatal spot. It was a sight (though seen before) never to be forgotten, and one that while you gaze upon you say, God forbid I should ever see such an one again.

The enemy's left, which the French outflanked and took, was backed all along by villages, which rendered that part of the position stronger, and

while the guns were not so numerous, the ground upon the whole was more tenable, and that the Tartars had made a better fight was, as I said before, made evident by the greater number of killed. Here you saw that the rifle and the bayonet had been brought into play; a courtyard where a stand was made by the Tartars was strewn with dead, for whose wounds you would have to look till you saw the small dark spot. Beautiful these villages were, once so peaceful, now forsaken, blood-stained, blackened by fire; the abodes once of rural happiness, now become charnel-houses.

The country all round from this to Pekin is thickly dotted with these very pretty villages; and I cannot pay the Chinese a greater compliment than to say that they reminded me in a measure of some of your own most picturesque villages, my dear John Bull. Yes, *I have* been reminded of England in this part of China. The delusion was oh, how delightful! It is almost worth while going away to find out how much you love home. The dream passed away like a flash of lightning, but I blessed it as it shone out to lighten the darkness of my heart. You required, as the "Marchioness" says, to "make believe very much," and then it was delicious; the orange-peel-and-water tasted quite like wine. There was the grateful shade of over-hanging trees, richly-cultivated gardens, and something very like the "haulm" fences which you meet with in some of the Eastern counties round the farmyards, and the wells

of delicious cold, cold water which we have found everywhere since we left Hooseewoo; draw it up with the cord and bucket, and, if you are *really* thirsty, say if you ever drank anything more delicious; go on another hundred yards and you'll find another well, just as cool and as good.

You must not look at the houses, or you are undeceived at once; not the comfortable red-brick cottage (I hate light-coloured bricks) with tiled roof. No; a mud-wall with a door in it, and inside the door a courtyard, and round that the dwelling-rooms. But now you find the whole place deserted, except perhaps by an old and decrepit man and woman, who "kowtow," expecting to be killed; you "chinchin," and pat them on the back, and they are very much pleased. In the next courtyard you will probably find half-a-dozen blackened corpses; it has been occupied by the Tartar troops, and the French have attacked them, with the usual result; matchlocks and soldiers' caps, decorated with two tails of some animal of the martin kind, sticking out behind horizontally, strew the ground. War is an awful scourge. Treachery of the deepest dye was meditated against us, but it was mercifully frustrated. How did I join in my heart in those deeply-expressive words of our Liturgy every Sunday, "Strengthen her that she may vanquish and overcome all her enemies;" and not less in those that follow, "And finally after this life that she may attain everlasting joy and felicity through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

Back we ride in the evening to Changkeawhan, and find a very good dinner awaiting us, thanks to our "number one" mess president, who fed us as well as possible through the whole campaign; a stern and sturdy fellow he *was* (and I hope is, and long will be), who, if he did not see his way clearly as to the carriage of his supplies, would not hesitate to put us on "rations," and limit us with the most Spartan severity.

At Changkeawhan I became a gentleman. Start not, gentle reader, you have not hitherto been reading the effusions of a full private, or a travelling gent. I repeat, that here I became a gentleman, as to the conveyance of my baggage. The town was full of all sorts of things; and carts, mules, and ponies amongst the rest. I had hitherto been depending upon a pack-pony and two coolies (lazy fellows they were, except under the stern rule of the Coolie Corps), and my fellows had acquired so much property of their own of all sorts, that, what between cooking-pots, "chowchow," bedding, and loot of all kinds, they rather required, than gave assistance, in the general move. Remember, I had my tent to carry as well as all other things required, besides sundry official matters. In vain I had remonstrated from time to time with the soldier attached to me as to the increased, and ever increasing, "bundles" which I saw each morning in the grey dawn beside my own baggage when mustered for the march. The answer I got was to this effect. "It's the coolies, sir; and bad luck to them coolies I say, they're

the plague of my life. One of them's sick, anyway *he says* he is, and divil doubt him, I wouldn't wonder. Didn't I see him makin' a baste of himself with the little pig he cotch onbeknownst last night. No wonder he wouldn't be able to walk, let alone to carry his load this mornin'. Here, coolie, you sick fella; d'ye hear me talkin' to you. I say, 'you savey,' come talkee master; you get up do master pigeon, you savey." Here the coolie would grunt, and pretend to be very lame; and I was obliged to put an additional load on my pack-pony, who, of course, resented the injustice by kicking everything off. Of this I was happily ignorant, for having seen a fair start I rode on. At the end of the march I found my baggage had not arrived; no tent, "no nothing." Rode back three or four miles, and found the soldier sitting beside the baggage, remonstrating in turn with the coolies and the pony, all of whom had "struck work;" and vigorous exertions were required to bring up the baggage, I having had nothing to eat or drink but a cup of tea at daybreak. Now, however, I again repeat, I became a gentleman.

My Madrassee, on the day after we came to Changkeawhan, when he brought me my morning's cup of tea, addressed me thus, "Suppose master hab kort, master get all baggages well, suppose I find kort, master can take." The scamp had been out looting at daybreak or before it, I have no doubt, as when I got up he led me direct to the yard of a

house, which had been turned inside out, where there was an excellent cart, and having taken care to provide myself with an order from the Quarter-Master-General to seize a cart, I brought it to my quarters and felt happy.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wolseley was sent on to reconnoitre, and reported that the enemy were in force about five miles off to the left of Tungchow; and all things being ready, we marched on the morning of Friday the 21st directly on their position, at six o'clock.

The baggage was parked in a village about three miles from Changkeawhan, and we halted for about an hour-and-a-half in a tope of trees, as the General would not proceed until he was well assured that the baggage was all safe, and there was some delay in bringing it up. The French were on the right, the country through which we were marching was becoming more wooded every mile, and it was by no means an easy matter to find your way in it, nor could you see, far in advance as the topes of trees and large planted cemeteries, irregularly dispersed, obstructed the view. Thus it occurred that we came rather unexpectedly upon the Tartars. Sir Hope was riding in front of our little force with some of his staff, and the marines, 99th, and the Armstrong guns were advancing, the infantry in column, and the cavalry on the left, when we were surprised, as we marched down upon a road on the left of a large cemetery, to see the General and staff

come back to us at a round canter, and a cloud of dust in their rear about 400 yards off. They had ridden forward under the impression that the soldiers whom they saw in their front were French skirmishers (as the French had already engaged the enemy), and discovered just in the nick of time that these troops were Tartars; the tall millet prevented the General from perceiving whether they were infantry or cavalry at first.

The Tartars seeing but a small party, rushed on; encouraged when they witnessed the retreat of five or six officers from as many thousands, on they came in full career, charging up to our infantry and guns. How it occurred matters not; but it certainly was a pity that our infantry did not receive this charge in line; no doubt the troops had pluck enough for anything, but somehow the ideas of "cavalry" and "square" seem so inseparably connected in the mind of the British soldier and officer, that it has become almost an instinct with him; the word of command "prepare to receive cavalry" is all very well, but *what* cavalry? What sort, how armed, how numerous, everything else of this sort should be taken into account before that everlasting square is formed. Our tactics, it seemed to the ignorant, should have been to let these Tartars come on, to encourage them in every way to do so; their numbers could not avail against our weapons, and what we wanted was to *reach* them; they had never yet had a good taste of our infantry, and now would have been the time

to give it to them; they knew an Armstrong shell when they saw it, and they knew something of our cavalry, but we never had such a chance in the whole war of allowing the Tartars to feel the impression of a Minie rifle, and it was lost; the infantry formed square, and fired a volley; the artillery unlimbered in an incredibly short space of time, and two or three rounds of course drove away the Tartars; but if the guns had kept quiet, and the infantry had received the charge as the Highlanders were prepared to do at Balaclava, the Tartars would have known more than they do now about our soldiers and our arms.

The infantry fired, and the guns fired; and that was very nearly the last the guns or the infantry saw of the Tartars during the day, for they moved off to our left to a village, where some skirmishing took place between the 99th and the enemy. And they showed a determined front about a quarter of a mile beyond the village, and a very strong body of cavalry, some 3000 at least, were formed in a particularly advantageous position.

They were drawn up on the further side of a deep sunken road, too wide for a horse to charge across; and about 100 to 150 yards further on in their front was another road of a similar description, so that any cavalry charging them in front must pull up, in order to get over both these serious obstacles, while they were all the time subject to a galling fire from the matchlocks and gingalls of the enemy.

Across this ground our cavalry was ordered to charge, the King's Dragoon Guards (*i.e.* one wing of the regiment, all that we had during the campaign) being in front, Fane's next, and Probyn's in reserve, —the brigade led on by Brigadier Pattle.

They started in a good, easy canter, at about 400 yards from the enemy, in complete ignorance, of course, of the nature of the ground before them; and while the King's Dragoon Guards, commanded by Colonel Sayer, were just beginning to press their horses to the gallop, they were thrown on their haunches at once, by road number one. Several horses went down in the road, but the Brigadier got them through, and started again; when, just as they reached the enemy (who stood gallantly to receive them), they came upon the second road. Into and through it they dashed. No pulling up this time; a good many unavoidably went down, but the fortunate ones, when once across, got a real good "go in" at the Tartars.

They had calculated that we could not get over their "obstacles," or that their fire would throw us into confusion while we were getting across. But little did they know the mettle of the old King's Dragoon Guards. Rest assured that the Tartars never will make such a mistake again as to receive a charge of British cavalry. Down they went like ninepins as our long-armed "heavies" gave them the point; the weight of horse and man carried everything before it, as, according to Homer,

when the bursting of a dam, or the melting of the snows on the mountains, floods the valley below. No doubt the old heavies can do the work when they reach the enemy; but the difficulty is that the horse has so much to carry, if the previous march has been long, or the ground deep, as at Sinho; he is done up before he encounters them. Here, however, they were all fresh; and no troops could have done better than they did, as the ghastly spectacle proved to those who saw it at the time. One poor fellow with the back of his head clean cut off; another cleft from the shoulder, half-way down the chest; the next run right through and through, from shoulder to chest, as he fled, caught by the superior stride of the high-bred troop-horse; another villain with a frightful flesh-wound in the arm tries to pot you with his matchlock from a little stook of millet in which he has taken shelter, but perceiving that he is discovered, and hoping for no mercy, he endeavours to have the first throw in the game for life; ah! a 99th man sees it, and bears down on him with his bayonet. You turn away in disgust; but what can you say? the savage Tartar fights as a savage, and if you don't kill him he will kill you.

A staff-officer told me that he had counted on the day but one after, 140 Tartars on the ground; a very large number when you recollect that we had but a handful of dragoons, and that the Tartars bolted as soon as they discovered what stuff the British soldier is made of.

The infantry moved off to the right. The Queen's and 15th Punjaub were on the extreme right of our force, the marines in the centre, and the 99th on the left. But Fane and Probyn had a small account to settle with the wily Tartar. Probyn was in reserve; and Fane, in support of the King's Dragoon Guards, charged on the left, and thus managed to catch a number of them after they had been broken by the heavy cavalry. He did not, however, escape the sunken roads; and from the impetuosity of the Sikhs, and the independent mode in which they fight when once let loose, they could not be brought so safely through such difficult ground as were the English horse. Probyn, on the left again of Fane, cut off their retreat completely from the direction of Chang-keawhan, and so secured our rear and our baggage; but the worst of it was that, wherever those turbans, either red or blue, were seen, or those lances glistened in the sun, it served as a notice to quit to any Tartars that were within sight. They could not well get at them.

While the irregulars were manœuvring and pursuing on the extreme left, the King's Dragoon Guards, 99th, and Royal Marines, with one or two of Barry's guns, advanced against a very strong camp and village on the right of the light cavalry. A well-maintained fire was kept up on the King's Dragoon Guards, who were unable to penetrate into the camp, as it was not only ditched, but was placed in one of those groves of trees which are surrounded

by a growing palisade of pines, planted so close together that even a foot-soldier could hardly squeeze his way between them. Brigadier Pattle having sent word to Sir H. Grant to this effect, the 99th, under command of Colonel Dowbiggin, were ordered to carry the place, which they did in gallant style, but not without an obstinate resistance from the Tartars, who kept up a galling fire from the windows and roofs of the houses in the village, until they were dislodged at the point of the bayonet. The camp rested on the village, and it was one of those village-barracks, if you may so call them, which are found in the neighbourhood of Pekin, and are the permanent residence of Tartar regiments, as the families of some of them live there, and there are stores of grain and provisions of all sorts. No doubt it was the fact of its being the home of these soldiers that inspired them with the determination which they showed in encountering the 99th, and fighting to the very last.

The camp was a most charming place, deeply shaded, and perfectly fenced; it was as cool as the thickest covering of the interwoven branches of the dark pine could make it. The tents were excellent, like our Indian palls, and those of the commanding officers were red or blue. They had been disturbed, poor fellows, as they were preparing their morning meal; the stoves still burned, but the food was sadly overdone; all their properties, spare arms, and ammunition were in their tents, which were soon in a blaze; the magazines blew up, and a large part of

the village was burnt also. Two other camps, much like this, within about a mile of it, were also burnt; and a number of guns taken, in all three; Sir H. Grant remained on the spot until the guns were brought out of these camps and moved off towards Paleechow, our next camping-ground.

Captain Green, Assistant-Deputy-Adjutant-General, First Division, captured some banners upon this occasion of the imperial yellow, and bordered, which proved that the picked troops which Pekin could produce had been brought against us, commanded by princes of the Imperial family; and we heard a rumour some time afterwards that one of them had been wounded upon that day, and that this had cost poor Captain Brabazon his life.

I have mentioned that we had one or two Armstrong guns along with the 99th and marines. Immediately before the assault upon the camp and village took place, as detailed already, we saw, at the distance of about a mile-and-a-quarter, some Tartar cavalry moving off past the end of a grove of trees, which, as a background, caused them to stand out in clear relief. A gun was immediately laid upon the spot and there was time but for one shot; we could see that it had taken effect, but not until later in the day was it known to what extent. I happened to pass the spot in the evening as we came near our camping-ground, and I recognized it at once by the grove of remarkably fine trees, and I never saw a more ghastly sight than that which presented itself;

three horses, or rather the limbs of three horses, lay scattered on the ground, the hindlegs of one animal were blown away several feet from him, all were *shattered*, and one wretched heap of cotton tinder and human cinder lay smouldering near; the other bodies had been carried off, for no trace was to be seen of the riders of the other horses. Then it was, I fear, that riding in the rear of his troops, our Armstrong shell, which just caught the last of the column, wounded the ignoble wretch who gave the brutal order to put his prisoners to death upon the spot. Here, we suppose, that poor Brabazon died.

The sun was setting when we reached Palechow, our baggage was just arriving, and it was only by a struggle, and a vigorous one, that tents were pitched, and horses picketed before the night fell.

CHAPTER XI.

Palechow—Standing Camp—Messrs. Parkes and Loch—Marble Tomb—Market—Camp Shaves—Sick and Wounded—Ultimatum—Depôt—Mahometan Mosque—Major Brown's Horses—Bivouac—Brick Kilns—Skirmishing—Pekin—Our lost Allies—Our Cavalry missing—Head-quarter Temple.

We encamped on the evening of the 21st at Palechow, about four miles from Tungchow, half-a-mile or three quarters on the left of the great flagged road which leads from that city to Pekin, and thus within about eleven miles of the capital. The ground chosen was very good, a large canal close at hand supplied abundance of water, as did the wells also, unless, as sometimes happened, they were stopped up with the bodies of Chinese women who had either thrown themselves in, or been thrown in by others. I remember one well which was very central and a good deal used, a "beestie" dropped his bucket or can into it, and sent down a hook to try and fish it up again, but he brought up instead the body of a Chinawoman; nor was it by any means the stern severity of their virtue which led these poor women to commit suicide, it was the fear of being put to death by us, after having been otherwise illtreated; as when the

Chinese make war upon one another (as for instance in the present rebellion), their practice is to put the women to death eventually, so that it was to avoid death in perhaps, as they feared, a worse form along with other evils that they drowned themselves; poor things! had they only known it, they would have been very safe. There were numerous topes of trees in which general officers usually placed themselves, while the unfortunate head-quarter staff were encamped on a small hillock surrounded by roads along which every horse in the force went to water twice a day, so that they must have eaten their peck of dust at once. There were numerous villages all round, from which almost all the inhabitants had fled; indeed, from Palechow to Pekin the country is studded with villages, and along the grand road it is almost one continued town the whole way.

A large canal runs from Tungchow to Pekin and appears to be a good deal used for the conveyance of grain; this canal lay between our camp and the grand road. There was a bridge at the village of Palechow, and we bridged it with boats about three-quarters of a mile nearer to Pekin, as the native bridge would not carry our guns. Here we were destined to remain for some days, and weary days of disappointed expectation they proved to be; we were however obliged to wait for reinforcements and for our siege train before we made our final advance upon Pekin, while we held out our delay to the Chinese as a boon granted to them to induce

them to deliver up their prisoners. Flags of truce arrived every day with messages from Pekin or elsewhere, one more false than another, all assuring us that our fellow-countrymen were safe and well. Of Mr. Parkes's and Mr. Loch's safety we were assured, as a communication came from them to the Embassy, as Lord Elgin had come to the front from Hooseewoo; and in sending some clothes which they asked for, a written communication was conveyed from the Embassy to Mr. Parkes, by being sewed to his shirt as if it had been a mark to fix the ownership of that article; it was written in Hindustanee.

About two miles from our camp in the rear, on the road to Tungchow, the French camp lay; the canal was here spanned by a splendid bridge of white marble, but going to decay like everything else in China, and not improved by a few shots from the French guns, as this had been the scene of the hottest part of their fight on the 21st. I rode over on the 22nd to their lines, and the banks of the canal were strewed with the bodies of the unfortunate Tartars, while weapons of all sorts covered the ground in some places. The Tartars had made a retreating fight of it for about two miles with the French, and this bridge had been the scene of their final stand; they had clearly expected that the allied force would advance by the direct road from Chang-keawhan to Pekin, which led across this bridge. They had laid their guns and stationed their force accordingly. This, in fact the French did, and so

they came in for the largest share of the fighting; whereas, our force being provided with cavalry, was better fitted to engage their cavalry and to prevent them from turning the left of the allied army, which it had been clearly their aim to accomplish. It was no difficult matter to trace back the French advance from their camp to the place where they were first engaged; indeed, you might have hunted the trail like a hound, as the unburied Tartars and their horses already tainted the air far and wide.

About a mile from the bridge was a most beautiful marble tomb, fenced about with cypress trees, planted so close together that you could hardly force your way between them, and thus forming a living palisade, the space enclosed being some five or six acres in extent, and beautifully planted with ornamental timber and shrubs; you entered by a white marble gate, outside was a moat, now dry, and a massive column of white marble, richly chiselled, about twenty feet high, and resting (as all the monuments of the great do in this part of China) on the back of a huge tortoise in marble. This was evidently the burial-ground of some great people, and stood in a grove of fine trees. Here the Tartars had made a long stand. Their guns here were trained on the road from Changkeawhan, and it was a very strong position; but the silent testimony of splintered trees, scores of dead horses, and ghastly corpses of Tartars which lay on every side, proved that the French rifled cannon is a weapon before which no enemy, not

equally armed, can stand, and when they were once made to feel the power of their guns they dreaded the encounter again.

The Hon. Colonel Foley, who was with the French army as English Commissioner, and no man could be better fitted for such a post, where tact and good sense are required, told me that at first the Tartars advanced on the French so boldly and came to such close quarters, that he drew his revolver, feeling certain that it was going to be a hand-to-hand encounter, but this rashness upon their part was not repeated. It is no use to repeat the details of horrid sights which I witnessed from day to day in taking an evening's ride; it might not have been safe to take the Pekin direction, and in every other you were met by sad illustrations of the horrors of war.

Mr. Wade established a market in the camp; the authorities at Tungchow, some four miles off, were only too glad to be civil to us, as their city was at our mercy, and a little gentle pressure upon them soon procured a good supply of fruit and vegetables, the former as good as could be, but the latter, like all Chinese vegetables, in my opinion coarse and bad. Oh! how often have I longed for a *real* potato; yes, and a piece of good English cabbage, despised at home. Mutton also was brought to market, but our commissariat was still more dependent upon a "foray" with a party of Fane's or Probyn's Horse, making a sweep some miles off in the country.

In this service, as in every other, these irregular

troops proved invaluable throughout the campaign, in fact we could not have done without them. Their own habits at home rendered them adepts in various most important branches of cavalry duty; they could find their way so well in a strange country, were so independent, that for keeping up communications they were invaluable, as well as for foraging, and we had a long seventy miles of communication to keep up with Tien-Tsin, and all our foraging to do besides; and then they were always as ready for a fight as if they had nothing else to do.

Now, the British soldier never having anything to get or do for himself, being always used to have his meat found and cut up for him at a certain hour, and to be spoon fed with it, must be spoon fed always; then he will fight for you like a man.

So we went on existing at Paleechow. "Shaves" of all sorts flew through the camp every day, so that no one was surprised at anything he heard. As the Brigade Major of the twentieth brigade (we will call it so) walked into the tent of his Brigadier one morning he was met by the welcome words, "Well, Jones, it's all right, I'm glad to tell you it's all right; I have it on the best authority it's all right." Jones, of course, thought of but one thing, that the prisoners were to be given up, the treaty signed forthwith, and began to see visions of *dulce, dulce domum*, and Mrs. Jones *in esse* or *in posse*, or perhaps, naughty man, of "the Rag." "Well, I'm sure, sir, I'm very glad to hear it; we've been long enough

in this beastly country for my mind, and if it's all right now, as you say it is, I suppose we shall get away at once." Brigadier: "My dear fellow, what are you talking about, did I say we were going away? I said, *my toe* was 'all right,' at least I meant to say so, for T——d told me so this morning, he has got the bullet out." The dear old gentleman had been shot in half-a-dozen places at the storming of the forts, and he thought that *all was right* when the last ball was extracted. So, of course, the shave for the rest of the day was, "Did you hear it's all right?" "No; is it?" "Yes; Brigadier ——'s toe is all right."

It was very hot in the bell-tents during the day, and we had no others even for hospitals; the consequence was that the sick and wounded men suffered a good deal; all that could be done however was done. The Queen's secured some houses in a village near their camp, where they had an excellent hospital, cool and comfortable, and those who were not so fortunate shaded their hospital tents with millet straw. Dr. Muir, our excellent principal medical officer, joined us here, and took measures at once to send the invalids and wounded to Tien-Tsin by boat down the river from Tungchow. Among the former was Brigadier Sutton, who was reluctantly obliged to leave from ill health, and among the latter Captain Bradbury, of the King's Dragoon Guards, who was severely wounded between the shoulders in their gallant charge on the 21st.

I see no reason why I should detain you any longer at Palechow. It is true that the army remained there until the 3rd of October, but why need you stay there an equivalent time? There is nothing of any great interest about it, except you like the effluvia of horse and Tartar exposed to the sun for days; all the thousands of ducks (beautiful white ones, just like our own Aylesburys) which covered the canal when we first arrived, have been killed; they hardly lasted two days. Officers, soldiers, sowars, sices, and Hong Kong coolies, all took a turn at them; all the mules and ponies in the neighbourhood have been driven in; the sweet potatoes and onions are nearly all gone; the furniture of all the houses in the deserted villages has been burnt for firewood; sick and wounded have been sent away down the river to the hospital ships. The siege-train has arrived, plenty of ammunition been brought up, "ultimatums" been sent in like the end of the Presbyterian minister's sermon, "finally," "lastly," "and in conclusion;" in short, there is nothing to stay for.

A dust storm or two have rendered the place rather disagreeable, so we will move on; it is not far, only about a mile-and-a-half to Chankian-ying; it is not my fault if they will give such outlandish names to places in China. In order to get there we cross one of the bridges over the canal, march on to the paved road, ride along it for a mile and then turn off to the right, and there you are.

This is the depôt, where all our reserve ammunition is to be left, all baggage, packs, tents, and everything else, as we are to advance on Pekin quite unencumbered, and are to rejoice once more, as at Sinho, in the bivouac, *vice* bell-tent, stored. Well, never mind, we can do without the tents.

The depôt was formed in a very well chosen spot, and withal a very pretty one; it was one of the splendid burying-places which abound on this side of Pekin; it was walled in and thickly planted, and in a day the sappers made it very defensible. This cemetery contained the handsomest sarcophagus which I have seen in China, shaped very perfectly, from white marble, and covered with sculpture emblematic of the riches and virtues, &c., of the deceased. I thought of Ruskin when I looked upon it, and wondered what fault he would find with it. It was placed upon most graceful supports, and what with the cool cyprus which overhung it, and the solemn tone which it imparts to the feelings, and the classic beauty of the work itself, I felt greatly impressed by it; such feelings, however, are not of long duration in war time, the hard and stern realities of life leave but little time or thought or care for the gentler emotions.

The head-quarters and Lord Elgin, who advanced with the army, were quartered in a Mahomedan mosque on the extreme right of our line, of which the camp of the King's Dragoon Guards, feeling the depôt on its right, formed the extreme left. It was

interesting to watch the Sikhs, who formed part of the body-guard, endeavouring to fraternize with the Chinese Mussulmen, nor were the latter anything loath. "Musselman" is a word in constant use among the Chinese followers of the Prophet, and I have little doubt that its use saved the lives of some celestials in this campaign from the sword or lance of the irregulars. This mosque was of good size and in good repair, but not handsome, and you could easily detect from some of the gear that lay in the storehouses round the court-yard, that some purely Chinese observances, and not relating to the faith of the Prophet, had been engrafted upon the Moslem's creed.

On Friday, October 5th, we marched from the depôt for some brick-kilns, about three miles from the north-east angle of the city of Pekin. I never can think of that depôt without a laugh, as it reminds me of one of the most ludicrous scenes I ever witnessed in my life, and although I anticipate the date of its occurrence, I will relate it here, as there is a fearful dust storm to-day, and you are grinding the grits in your teeth, even in your quarters, and consequently I am glad to tell a merry story by way of contrast to the weather.

A few days before we left Pekin, a court-martial was ordered to assemble at Tungchow, to try one of the marines who were quartered there, and a field-officer, Major Brown we will call him, of the —ty —th, was appointed to act as President, and ordered to proceed from Pekin to Tungchow for

the purpose. A couple of sowars were to go with him by way of a guide and escort, as we had lost several men who had been, no doubt, caught straggling by the natives and murdered.

The scene is laid outside the Deputy-Adjutant-General's office; Major Brown rides up, followed by the sowars, while the Major's servant, private Hagarty or Hanlon, walks behind his master in order to see the Major make a "clean" start of it for Tungchow, which he is to do from the Deputy-Adjutant-General's door. There is a strong suspicion that private Hagarty had been drinking his master's health. Half-a-dozen people are standing about; you would have seen me there if you had been there yourself.

Deputy-Adjutant-General, *loc.*—"Well, Brown, are you off for Tungchow?" (With his usually bland manner and winning smile.)

Brown.—"Well, colonel, I suppose so, but I really don't know the way there, and I just came up here to ask you about it. How am I to go? I don't even know whether these sowars know the road, for I cannot talk their language."

Deputy-Adjutant-General.—"Oh, you can easily find the road; let me see, the best thing for you to to do is to make for the depôt, and then you will see the tower of Tungchow from that."

Brown (who does not appear to see his way to going there at all).—"Yes, but where is the depôt? I don't know my way there."

Private Hagarty (confidentially cum Hibernice).—"Is it the depôt, major? You don't know the depôt? don't you mind the place where you stole the first horse?"

Brown.—"Eh-hem, eh-hem." Evidently much put out by his servant's system of mnemonics.

Deputy-Adjutant-General (biting his lips to keep in his laughter, yet not appearing to have heard Hagarty's remark).—"Oh, you won't find any difficulty; take the south-eastern road, and about twelve miles off you'll strike the depôt on your left."

Brown.—"Well, I'm sure I wish I knew rather better where the depôt is. You see, I don't know the place at all; there's the difficulty."

Hagarty.—"Ah, major, dear, is it not know the depôt? Don't you mind what I am sayin' to you about the horses? You remember the place where you stole the first one; the white-faced horse I mean; well, *that's the depôt*."

Frowns were of no use; even "a kick under the table" would hardly have stopped Mr. Hagarty, who appeared to forget that if the Major had stolen "a white-faced horse," and others afterwards, as he implied, the Adjutant-General of the army was not the man to tell it before, as looting was at that time only lawful for the Commissariat, and not, as at the palace, open to all. Before he had well delivered himself of the last sentence I have recorded, Major Brown had "gone away," and it was well he had, for the Deputy-Adjutant-General would certainly

have either burst a blood-vessel, or forgotten his proprieties and burst out laughing before Brown, as everyone did when his back was turned.

In due time, after a march of about five miles, we came to the brick-kilns, and here, after a halt of about two hours, the army was ordered to bivouac. I don't like a bivouac, especially when you have a hot day and a chilly night, and very little in the way of bedding.

One cart was all that each regiment was permitted to bring by way of transport, and one only was allowed to the staff. Some of us built huts of millet-straw, and some got into a few Chinese houses scattered about, which were deserted. Lord Elgin, advancing with the army, was forced to share its fate. We did not oversleep ourselves next morning. All were astir before daybreak, as we expected to sit down before Pekin, to have a fight perhaps, or it might be to storm the place; no one knew how it would be, but all were alive with expectation. We marched at daybreak. Sir H. Grant had received information from various quarters that there was a large Tartar army encamped under the walls of Pekin, and holding a very strong position on a bund, some distance from the city wall. He, therefore, took a circuit to the right and approached the city nearly due north, in order to turn any works which might have been thrown up. This precaution the event proved to have been unnecessary, although, at the time, most prudent and right. Having marched about

two miles the army was halted in a plain more open than the rest of the country, which, as I said before, is covered with clumps of trees; and the General ascended a brick-kiln more tall that its fellows, from which he might learn something of the country, and perhaps get a peep at the enemy, as we had not as yet seen even a vidette or a skirmisher.

"Why are you not up there, M——?" I said, addressing a staff-officer; "that's your place, with the General."

"Ah, I don't care to go," he replied, with that dry, humorous smile which his friends know so well. "There's too many generals and would-be generals and amateurs there for me. I'll just stay where I am."

So long did we halt that it became apparent to the meanest capacity that breakfast must be the result. So it was a case of cold meat, biscuit, and beer for those who had it; anything else they might happen to have for those who were denied that first, I will not say of luxuries, but of necessaries in the East.

At about eleven or half-past eleven we (as Captain Wills remarked upon another occasion) "got the army under weigh" (I remember his asking me, with a very grave face, at one of our camps, "if I could show him where the King's Dragoon Guards were anchored," and whereabouts General Michel's "moorings were"), and marched direct on Pekin. The French were on our left rear; and, except a

squadron of the King's Dragoon Guards, who formed part of the advanced guard, the cavalry on our right flank. We marched through narrow and deeply-sunken roads, in which it would have been impossible for troops to act; and, besides, the country was thickly studded with topes of trees and bramble-underwood; so that our force might have been greatly harassed had we been opposed even by matchlock-men and gingalls. We were constantly on the "*qui vive*," and frequently the word was passed that the Tartars were in force in front; and so I believe they were; indeed, I saw them more than once, but they made no stand; and just as the 60th Rifles had been hurried on in skirmishing order, to endeavour to catch them, they disappeared in this most intricate of countries.

As we neared the large bund, which nearly surrounds the city, at a distance of about a mile and a half from the walls, in approaching a village, the King's Dragoon Guards were fired upon, and some skirmishing took place; but the Tartars speedily bolted, and only one of our men was wounded slightly in the back of the head by a gingall-ball.

We crossed the bund by a cut through it, and found ourselves in sight of the long-thought-of, far-famed city of Pekin. Yes, there before us, right down that road is one of the gates. We are halted on the outskirts of a long street of suburb which runs up to the gate, under the grateful shade of numerous groves of trees; and the men, most of

them, having secured plenty of large ducks and fowls, proceeded to dress them, making good use of the present moment. The Commissariat seized a flock of 500 or 600 sheep which were being driven away; so we expect to be fed well for one day or two, at all events. "Far niente," but not in a very "dolce" manner, was now the order of the day for some hours.

Two or three of Barry's Armstrong guns were rattled up with great parade, and laid on the opposite gate, a splendid shot down the suburb street, which was very wide, and a number of Tartars crossing and recrossing in front of the gate as if they were mounting guard. "Tartars, but are they Tartars?" some one says, "they are the French." The guns are loaded and laid; "but don't fire, they may be the French;" "they *are* the French;" "they are not the French, they are Tartars;" "well, if those are not the French I'll eat my hat;" "eat it then as fast as you like." Such was the difference of opinion, but the guns were not fired, and they were not the French whom we saw. Our gallant allies, while we marched on Pekin, crossed in our rear and marched on the Ewen-ming-Ewen, some six or seven miles off on our right. How this came to pass, how we lost our allies, or how our allies lost us, whichever you like; how we lost our cavalry brigade, or they lost us, happen how it might, it was unfortunate.

When the allied army was advancing upon Pekin, the French found themselves at the Ewen-ming-Ewen

palace, six miles off by a flank movement in the rear of our army. How it was that when in every other engagement or march each force had felt the other, upon this occasion they had acted quite independently, I do not know; the result was that we sat down before the city, where we ought to have been, and they in the summer palace. Our cavalry obeyed their orders in marching in the direction of the summer palace. They searched for us until night, and eventually bivouacked, without anything in the shape of baggage, two miles from the French and from the Ewen-ming-Ewen.

The question with us during the rest of the day was, where are the French? where are the cavalry? there was no fighting, or we should have heard something of it; where could they be? they might be close at hand, and yet we might know nothing of it, for although by no means a forest, the country was so studded with small groves of trees, each so like its brother, that you might be within a quarter of a mile of your dearest friend on earth, and yet never suspect it; so by way of endeavouring to let them know our whereabout, all, or nearly all, the bands of the force were ordered to the top of the bund, some hundred feet high in this spot, to beat off tattoo with their united power; but no result followed; we heard nothing that night of the French or of the cavalry; so we tried to sleep as well as we could in our ignorance, but before going to bed it is as well that I should say something of the disposition of the troops.

At the entrance of this long street of suburb leading to the gate of which I have spoken, and on its right, stood a large temple of Buddah, covering with its various shrines and dwelling-places for the priests (such a dirty and shabby lot) not less than twenty acres of ground, all enclosed by a good twelve-feet wall, and very defensible. The gates were all barred within, but a few blows from a ram in the shape of a large beam of timber soon pursuaded the men of peace inside to open one of them; and here Lord Elgin and suite, Sir H. Grant with his personal staff, and the Head-quarter staff, took up their abode. None of the "religious" were disturbed, except those whose quarters were required, and these were of course quietly told to "depart," nor was there any wanton destruction of their gods, furniture, or property. Outside in the rear were the artillery head-quarters and most of the guns, but General Crofton subsequently moved into the temple with his staff; Sir J. Michel occupied another temple to the right front of the head-quarters, while Sir R. Napier took up his abode in a house in the suburb street on its left front. The Queen's were marched to an advanced post half-way to the gate on the right of the street, the 60th Rifles occupied quarters close to Sir J. Michel, the 99th and 67th in the suburb street, near Sir R. Napier, the 15th Punjaubees in advance in the same street, while the 8th formed the rear-guard.

CHAPTER XII.

Colonel Wolseley finds the French and Cavalry—How they came to be lost—Lord Elgin and Sir Hope Grant visit the Summer Palace—Entrance—Hall of Audience—Grounds—French Looting—The Palace—Furs and Embroidery—Curios and Silk—Gardens and Summer-houses—Art and Nature—Interior of Temple—Golden Idols—A Chinese Summer-house—Furniture of Summer-house—Gardens—Chinese Plunderers.

EARLY next morning a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the bund in order to let the allies know our whereabouts, and to find out, if possible, our lost cavalry; but a more certain method was adopted at the same time. Colonel Wolseley, with an escort of sowars, is sent off to the Ewen-ming-Ewen to seek for them, as it is just possible the French may have gone there.

Nothing loth, he starts off at daybreak. He only knows the direction of the palace; that is quite enough for him, rather more, in fact, than he requires; if there is an officer in the army that can find his way, he is the man. The Tartars may be in force in the neighbourhood; no doubt they may. It would give double pleasure to his ride if there was a good smack of danger about it. He returned with the news that he has found the French at the Ewen-ming-Ewen, and our cavalry in the neighbourhood.

The French having, as I have already stated, executed a flank march in our rear, had arrived at the Summer Palace; found it unoccupied, save by a guard of eunuchs, although there were swarms of Tartar soldiers in the villages for miles around it; indeed these villages appear to be the barracks of a large army. They met with but little resistance; one or two French officers were slightly wounded; and that night General Montauban occupied the Palace.

It was a curious accident that we should be separated but once during the campaign, and that upon that occasion the French should march to the Ewen-ming-Ewen. And another curious fact is, that while General Montauban assured Sir H. Grant that "nothing had been touched" (which, of course, he believed to be the case), any number of richly-jewelled watches were to be bought at that moment in the French camp, "with a very large portion of silver and gold," while the soldiers' tents and the ground around them was a perfect blaze of silk and embroidery.

The Commander-in-Chief had, doubtless, sent a message to General Montauban, by Captain Farquharson, A.D.C., to the effect that if he did not meet with the Tartar army outside Pekin he would march on the Ewen-ming-Ewen; and this expressed intention was not carried out, and it may be that we were ourselves the defaulters, in not adhering to this arrangement.

Between twelve and one o'clock on Sunday Lord Elgin and Sir H. Grant rode out to the Ewen-ming-

Ewen with a strong escort of sowars and some of the King's Dragoon Guards. Lord Elgin was accompanied by his suite, and Sir H. Grant by his personal staff, Sir R. Napier and staff, and General Crofton and staff, one or two of the Head-quarter staff, and some naval officers. After a brisk ride of some six miles, guided by Colonel Wolseley, they arrived at the Palace. It is approached by a grand causeway road, which divides a large sheet of water. The outer gate is not very imposing, it is of the same form as that used for all large public buildings in China, and with those leans-to, or supports, of wood, without which it would fall of its own accord.

Inside the first entrance-gate there is a large, flagged courtyard, some hundred yards wide by eighty deep; at each side, both within and without, are guard-rooms. Fronting the grand entrance stands another gate of similar construction; then another court, in which stands the "Hall of Audience," a magnificent building, in which, in his imperial chair, the Emperor gave audience to those few and great ones who were honoured by admission into the "vermillion" presence.

This courtyard is about the same size as the outer one, and the Hall of Audience stands at the side farthest from the gate; one door by which the minissters or others were admitted faced that gate; while, at the opposite side of the hall was the imperial entrance, approached from the palace.

This hall was a separate building, not attached to

any other; its length was about 120 feet, its breadth about 80. At each end stood one of those enormous and splendid enamelled bowls, which the army has presented to Her Most Gracious Majesty, at Major Probyn's request, who took them from the hall himself—minor spirits, being deterred from touching them by their vastness, were contented with some smaller and more suitable memento. But a difficulty is just the thing for Probyn; he contrived to get them away when no one else thought of attempting it. A large and most elaborate plan of the Palace Gardens nearly covered the wall at one end of the room. About half-way down one side stood the imperial dais, which was ascended by three steps, and upon it was placed the chair of state, richly carved in dark wood, and cushioned in rich embroidery.

The ceiling was of wood, deeply carved, very rich and massive; and there was an air of state, a solemn dignity, about the place which impressed you not a little, and rendered it most suitable to the purpose for which it had been built. Behind this hall was a passage leading to the right and left, one side of it being formed by the wall of the Hall of Audience, the other by a large rockery. Following the path to the right you found yourself in a labyrinth of courtyards and buildings, full of all sorts of curiosities, silks, and stores of every kind of property; while proceeding to the left, and turning again to the front, you arrived at an artificial piece of water, one of hundreds in the grounds, and nearly all connected by a slow-flowing

stream, surrounded by rockeries and bridged at each end, where it narrowed. I need hardly say that all around noble trees of various sorts cast their luxurious shade; and on the opposite side of this miniature lake stood the imperial apartments, entered by none save members of the imperial family. If you can imagine fairies to be the size of ordinary mortals, this then was fairyland. Never have I beheld a scene which realized one's ideas of an enchanted land before; would that its lord had not been proud, false, and cruel, and he might yet have enjoyed it.

The party who accompanied Lord Elgin and Sir H. Grant on the first visit to the palace were detained here beside the water for several hours at General Montauban's request; he sent a message to Sir Hope, begging that he would not bring a large party into the palace, *as none of the French officers had yet been permitted to enter.* So that Sir R. Napier, General Crofton, Major Anson, and Captain Grant only entered with Sir H. Grant, and Lord Elgin introduced his attachés. The rest were left to ruminate under the trees beside the small lake. The Commander-in-Chief had a long conference with General Montauban, and was assured that *nothing had been touched.* It was agreed that, prize agents being appointed, they should select such articles as they deemed fitting as prize for each army, and that, when their selection was complete, the rest of the property might be taken as individual spoil.

But on that afternoon Sir H. Grant gave permission to such officers as were of the party to carry away a memento with them,—anything they pleased, provided that the prize-agents did not object. Of this privilege everyone appeared to avail themselves; and while one became enamoured of a gadestone vase, another lost his heart to an embroidered robe, while a third, with an eye to the future, selected a fur-coat.

Strange, is it not, but nevertheless true, that we sometimes cannot see things that are being done under our very nose! General Montauban was no doubt sincere in his assertion, that "nothing had been touched;" but it was passing strange that he could not have seen that his own camp outside the palace-gate was blazing with silk of every hue, and the richest embroidery; nor did he know that, at the same moment, you could buy a richly-jewelled watch, enamelled and set round with pearls or brilliants, or with both, for five or six and twenty dollars. How cheap must watches have been in France when the army started for China! for how could they have got them from the palace when General Montauban declared that he had placed sentries all round it?

But how came it that when the officers who accompanied Sir H. Grant were detained outside the imperial apartments, they were accosted by French officers passing and repassing them, thus, "Mais pourquoi n'entrez-vous pas, messieurs, ce n'est pas défendu d'entrer, mais regardez;" and diving into

the capacious pockets of his overalls, he would produce a bar or plate of gold. "C'est de l'or, voyez-vous," and he would proceed to bend it to prove its ductility. Now, General Montauban did not know a word of all this, although it went on under (as I have said) his very nose; nor did he know that although not in the imperial apartments, nevertheless in other rooms of the palace in which there was valuable property to any amount, the French gunner was to be seen with a large sack, filling it with all sorts of things which struck his fancy.

And while on this subject, which has been so much canvassed at home, I add and am moreover prepared to assert that by far the greatest part of the property acquired by officers and soldiers in the English force was *purchased from the French*; so that were you to ask an officer where he had procured such or such a curio, or dress, or watch, the chances were five to one that he would tell you that he bought it in the French camp. We had Indian allowances, and they had the plunder, and we bought some of it; with very few exceptions, no officer or soldier in the English force got a single article of intrinsic value from the palace; although everything that came from the place has no doubt a decided value from its associations; but the difference was just this, that while the British officer looked for articles of virtu, as a memento of the place for himself, or for his friends at home, the Frenchman had an eye to more solid advantages, and he reaped them.

And now let us take a look at the palace, *i.e.* at the imperial apartments. They were built, as every Chinese house is, from the lowest to the highest, in what I must call the courtyard plan. You enter through a passage and one or two doors, one of the state-rooms, furnished in the richest manner with tables and seats of black or very dark wood—ebony, or a wood of equal beauty,—carved in the most elaborate manner, so that figures and landscapes are made to stand out completely, and are often only attached to the background by some one or two points, which you do not see until you look for them. No more perfect display of the art of wood-carving could be conceived. Wainscots of the same adorned the walls, while the seats and couches were draped with the richest silk-embroidery, all of the imperial yellow, and adorned with dragons in gold.

On the opposite side of the courtyard, about fifty feet square, and flagged with marble, stood another room, of larger dimensions, and furnished in a similar manner; and all round it, on tables and stands, were placed vases and cups of the most choice and beautiful gadestone, china, and enamel: clocks, gilt and many of gold, several of French manufacture; mirrors of large size set in costly frames, while splendid glass chandeliers hung from the ceilings. Room here opened off room; and while they varied in size and shape, the style and furniture were similar. This suite of apartments stretched right and left; the extreme left of the building was sacred to the ladies

of the court; and here were some exquisite boudoirs, fitted up with the perfection of Eastern luxury and taste; and a spiral staircase, the only one in the building, led to a similar suite of apartments overhead, a great part of whose ornament consisted in the most rare and costly of Chinese works of art, with a few, French in manufacture as in design and taste. These suites of apartments fronted another sheet of water, surrounded by rockeries on a gigantic scale (all planted), and opened out upon a gravelled walk or drive, while, behind them, small courtyards innumerable were surrounded by store-rooms filled with boxes of furs, china, embroidered dresses, shoes (which proved that the ladies of the palace were not cursed with small feet,—I mean Chinese small feet).

The furs were ermine (but not valued much by us, as the tails were wanting), sables, squirrel, unborn camel, a very curious and beautiful grey skin with very minute curls of hair, unborn lamb, black astrachan, and others which none of us appeared even to have seen before, and which we were unable to name. But the imperial robes; how am I to describe them? Rich silk, blue or yellow, brown or purple, covered with delicately-worked embroidery, exquisite in colour and shading, as unrivalled in execution, with the golden, five-clawed dragon blazoned over the embroidery. Truly these imperial dresses were a sight which conveyed lofty ideas of the splendour of the court to which they belonged.

To the right of the imperial apartments the buildings of the palace stretched for about half-a-mile, and consisted of the residences of officials, with servants' apartments, and rooms full of silk dresses, in which, having been pulled out of their boxes and thrown on the floor, you would sink above your knees as you entered the room. Large rooms there were too, with shelves divided into compartments all round, and in each compartment was placed some work of Chinese art, in gadestone, enamel, bronze, or china, or some valued gift of the "barbarian" relics of an English mission of the last century, or some importation from France through Russia, each article carefully labelled, and the label describing, not only its age and origin, but the exact position in the room which was assigned to it.

In this wing of the building also the silk was stored, and there seemed to be enough of it to clothe half the population of Pekin. When the palace was opened to indiscriminate plunder, these rolls of silk attracted much attention from the Sikhs, who carried them off in cartloads; they sold them in camp for two dollars a roll at first, but their value was soon raised to from ten to twenty dollars. Various were its colours and texture, satin or silk, plain or figured, white, blue, yellow (the Imperial colour), purple, stone, or fawn colour; there they were to be had for carrying away, or if you chose to buy them, 8*s.* 4*d.* for fifteen or twenty yards; all good husbands who were there have no doubt got a supply for their

wives; brothers and cousins, too, have no doubt done likewise for the fair ones who belong to them at home. Oh! what a pleasure it is to look at a gift, whatever it may be, which you intend to present to some dear one at home, and to imagine the pleasure with which it will be received: but to return to the palace.

The grounds extended for six or seven miles in every direction, and further towards the hills. If you can, you must imagine a vast labyrinth of picturesque rocks and noble timber, lakes and streams, summer-houses roofed with porcelain of the imperial yellow, theatres and their store-houses, filled with all the paraphernalia for masquerades upon a gigantic scale, one theatre and its belongings covering from five to ten acres of ground, all richly planted around; temples more numerous still, full of quaint deities (some of them, as it has since turned out, of gold), and every building within view of at least one other, and all these filled with works of Chinese art of great age, beauty, and value, and in the background a range of hills, their outline cut clear against the sky; you must think of all the best gifts of nature, in colour and in form, of trees, shrubs, and wild flowers; wood, water, rock, hill, and mountain you must add; then deck the scene with all the world-famed skill of the Celestial in landscape gardening, thrown in here and there so well that it looks like nature's own hand; scatter those beautiful buildings round, with their gorgeous roofs peeping through the

dark forest timber; see, there is an imperial stag bounding across your paths; conjure up the quaint old Chinese bridge here and there, to carry you across the feeder of some placid lake, with its ornamental waterfowl: and you may be able to form some very faint and indistinct idea of the Ewen-ming-Ewen, which you can no more conceive than I can describe.

I wandered one day for hours through its cool shades and winding paths, from building to building, and here and there a terrace on the side of a hill, with summer-houses, so cool, each containing suits of richly-furnished apartments, now deserted, most of them untouched, although I met scores of Chinese carrying away heavy loads of plunder from the outbuildings of the palace (chiefly cloth and china). "Come," I said to S——, who was with me, "let us look at this place." We ascended a flight of some seventy or eighty marble steps, a gentle stream of water at each side falling into a large marble basin at the bottom, bridged with marble also; we reached a terrace surrounded by dark pine trees; in the centre stood a temple, a large circular building; we entered it, there was the triple Buddah, and before him the ashes of the sticks of incense, the last that ever were to smoke at his shrine; he was, or rather they were, huge, and in gilded wood; numerous smaller shrines were placed round the building, with smaller deities.

"What is this?" said S——; "gold, is it not?"

taking up with some little difficulty a deity about two feet high. "Gold, my dear fellow, do you think gold is so plentiful in China that they have golden gods in a remote temple like this, where anyone might carry them off?" "It's precious heavy then," he said, "if it is not gold, let us smash him and see;" and down went the divinity, with a heavy thud on the marble floor, but no sign of a smash in him. "I'm sure it is gold," said S——. "Bring it home then," said I, laughing. "I wish I had that lazy syce here," was his rejoinder, as he stood looking at his idol,. "I should make him carry it." So we left it there, but when the burning came it was found, or another like it, and was brought home, and it made a fortune. I feel sure that multitudes of such things were thrown away and burnt, because it was incredible that they could be made of gold, and yet they were. On another shrine the incense-burners were of iron, plated with gold; on another, of rich enamel of every colour in the rainbow, with gilded mounting, while every shrine was draped and curtained with yellow satin, richly embroidered.

Proceeding along the terrace we arrived at a summer-house embosomed in shade,—and by a summer-house I don't mean a small octagonal or hexagonal building, with a deal table and some benches for the convenience of a picnic party, distempered walls, rectangular windows (such as Ruskin loves), and a slate roof. Nor do I mean a bower covered with moss, and roses and jessamine trained over it, and

thatched with reeds or heather. No, I mean *a house* with ten or twenty rooms in it, sleeping rooms and sitting rooms, all fully furnished and "fit for the immediate reception of a nobleman's or gentleman's family;" yes, or of an emperor,—for to some one of these cool retreats we are told that Hein Fung loved to retire and pass his days with one or more of the reigning favourites.

Let us enter. The door is fastened inside, never mind, a vigorous kick sends it flying open from the centre, and we stand in a marble courtyard. Two small rooms, one on each side, where the wooden sword denotes the eunuch's dwelling; three steps of marble opposite bring us to another door. "Your turn now, S——;" and in it goes, for S—— has a strong leg. Another marble courtyard, larger than the first, and steps ascending, for it is built on the face of a hill, and the house is terraced; two long buildings at each side containing three rooms each, those at the ends opening off the centre one, which is a sitting-room furnished just like the palace, dark or black carved wood and crimson or yellow embroidered satin, nicknacks and ornaments the same. What would Wardour Street say if it were here? Why the furniture of this one summer-house would sell, at home, for a prince's ransom. One larger building fronts the entrance of the courtyard; bang goes the door, in we go. Much larger rooms, three of them on the same plan, a splendid French clock in gold enamel, the

furniture is more gorgeous, the ornaments more rare, and in a carved cupboard in the wall there are boxes of the imperial yellow china, each cup wrapped in soft paper and in a compartment by itself, so precious is it deemed. Some, of the finest "cracle," so minute that you must get a good light to see it in. Some with the five-clawed dragon finely worked in it, not visible when you look directly at it. Some curious old grey "cracle," too; imperial sceptres in green and white gadestone; two tall jars in porcelain, painted in the richest colours, representing a series of hunting scenes in which the tiger and stag are pursued.

Tablets adorn the walls, one or two yards square, in which sylvan scenes of landscape or of hunting are represented, in which the figures, trees, water, beasts, &c., are made of gadestone, green and white, and of other coloured stones. Sleeping-rooms to the right and left, satin embroidered hangings, and the raised bed-place universal in China, which doubtless the imperial person has e'er now pressed. A garden adorns the centre of the courtyard; some of the shrubs are still in flower. Trees from outside overhang it all, while a stream, cool as the rock it springs from, flows through it, caught here and there in deep, pure white marble basins. To the right and left passages leading to other buildings of similar stamp, and some storerooms, one filled by several gilded chairs of state, another with large enamels, a third with quaint masks and lanterns for an even-

ing entertainment; but if I was to write a whole book on the subject I could not describe it, nor could you even then imagine it.

Reluctantly we descended again from the terrace and fairy palace, and wandered along the shores of a lake; but "time (in our case) was short and art was long." Here, lying at the bottom near the shore, were porcelain jars and vases which had been thrown there by some overloaded plunderer, to be brought away at some more convenient time; and standing above his middle in water, is an unfortunate coolie, bleeding from a wound in his chest, which he has received who can tell how, but no signs that we can make will induce him to come on shore. As we near the palace again, we meet large parties of Chinese, plundering their own Emperor; we examine their baskets and bundles,—china vases, felt, and coarse wadded clothing, are all that we can find; they have not got into the best buildings; they are afraid of us, or else they have gone in for the things which will be most useful to themselves, or are least likely to be recognized, in which case, off go their heads at once.

But we must get back to Pekin for this time; we shall see the palace more than once perhaps again.

CHAPTER XIII.

Preparations for an Assault—Plan of our Position—Colonel Mann's anxiety to make a Breach—John Chinaman gives in—Chinese Treachery—Return of Messrs. Parkes and Loch—"The wild Justice of Revenge"—Boulby, a public Loss—Chinese Perfidy—Kindness of Russian Embassy—The Russian Burial-ground—Funeral of Messrs. Anderson, De Norman, Boulby, and Private Phipps—Cruel Treachery of the Emperor—Burning of the Imperial Palace—Burning of Temple—Antiquity of Chinese Art—A Residence with its Temples—Gardens—Curios—Halt of Troops—More Burning—Reflections—Return to Pekin—A necessary Sacrifice—The days of the Present Dynasty numbered—Success of the American Mission.

No time was lost by the Allies in making preparations for an assault upon Pekin, should it be necessary to do so in order to get possession of the gate which they had demanded. Messengers passed to and fro between the Chinese authorities and our chiefs, which I forbear to reprint, as they have long ago been made public, and are not of sufficient interest to be reproduced here; suffice it to say, that they exhibited upon the one hand firmness, dignity, and truth; and upon the other, every low art which base cunning and falsehood could bring to bear. But all to no purpose, Lord Elgin knew them thoroughly, nor could they again deceive him.

To the left front of our then position before Pekin

lay a large open plain, of uneven surface, it had been used as a parade-ground for the Tartar army, it is about a mile-and-a-half square; on the right, as you face the city, this plain is bounded by the broad road and suburb leading to the north gate of the Tartar city; on the front, by the city wall; on the rear, by the great Llama temple and its extensive grounds and buildings; and on the left, by the suburb and broad road leading to the Anting gate; this gate the allies had determined to make their own.

Beyond that again, to the left of this last-named suburb, stood the magnificent Temple of the Earth. Its various buildings (for one temple in China often includes a large number of separate edifices) were enclosed by a brick wall about eighteen feet high, and covered a space more than a quarter of a mile square; up to this temple the siege guns were at once brought, and as the wall approached the city to within about three hundred yards and formed an excellent mask for our battery, no more fitting place could have been chosen from which to breach the far-famed wall of Pekin. The sappers went to work under Colonel Mann, a most energetic and painstaking officer; so anxious was he, indeed, to make the breach that a facetious young subaltern in the Sappers declared one morning, "that he had been seen the night before under the very wall, sitting on a barrel of gunpowder, and grubbing at the wall with his nails;" but in a few days the battery was finished, and on Friday the 12th a proclamation was issued by us

threatening to bombard the town if the Anting gate was not given up within twenty-four hours.

It was fated, however, that the wall was not to be breached; every preparation had been made, the Second Division under Sir R. Napier was told off for the assault, while the First Division was to be under arms in reserve, when at the last moment, as usual, when he finds himself driven to the wall, John Chinaman gave in; the gate was placed in our hands, and our troops had the honour of planting their colours upon its summit. For some days no one was permitted to enter the city, or even the gate, without a pass from the Deputy-Adjutant-General, so that I shall take this opportunity, as we cannot yet get into Pekin, to mention some other matters which are yet to be spoken of.

And first, as to the prisoners. Great was the anxiety felt by every one on their behalf; to many of us they were personal friends. Mr. H. Parkes had secured the good will of all by the frank urbanity of his manners, although there was a strong opinion in the army that he had been too confiding, and too much disposed to yield to the Chinese Government, and that therefore his sufferings were to a certain extent brought on through his own mistake, while personally the deepest sympathy was felt for him. The old proverb, "Deceive me once it is your fault, deceive me twice it is mine," ought to have been borne in mind more than it appears to have been. For, not to speak of the one-hundred-and-one tricks

that have been played upon us by the Government of China, of former date, the falsehood of their dealings at Tien-Tsin, as previously related, was so palpable, that every one in the army felt that there was a degree of blame to be attached to those who placed themselves, or anyone else, in the power of men so false and treacherous. I record this as the impression in the army; how far it was justified I cannot decide.

Kweileang and Hang Foo had solemnly assured Messrs. Wade and Parkes, on September 1st, that they had full power to treat with us, all our demands were to be complied with; but when it came to the point, and the production of their credentials was demanded on the 6th, their falsehood was made evident. Had they been able to carry on the deception so far as to have induced us to do as they desired, and Lord Elgin had gone up to Pekin with a small escort and no guns, it might have been that, instead of the prisoners whom they did take at Changkeawhan, they would have captured the Ambassador; for that the Government intended treachery when they stipulated that the Allies were to leave their guns behind them, "as the minds of the people would be disturbed at Pekin if guns were brought there," there cannot now be the smallest shade of doubt. And thus their subsequent conduct has proved to us what an escape the interests of the Allies had, as who can tell what the results would have been had the Plenipotentiaries fallen into any well-executed snare.

For Mr. Loch's safety all who knew him felt most painful anxiety. Prayers were offered up at our services on behalf of all, and I am sure that our congregations most heartily joined in their petitions. Soon after our arrival at Pekin our fears as to Messrs. Parkes and Loch were put an end to by their arrival at head-quarters, and many a hearty shake of the hand it was their lot to feel. Their statements as to their sufferings are so interesting that they are here subjoined.

Of the fate of the other prisoners we were still in ignorance, and deep was the feeling of anxiety on their behalf; but on the 12th nine of Fane's sowars were sent back, and they informed us of the sad fate of De Norman and Anderson, nor had we much hope after this for Boulby and Brabazon. The sowars can tell best their own tale.

EVIDENCE OF SOWALLA SING, DUFFADAR,

First Troop, Fane's Horse.

"When Messrs. Parkes and Loch left us to go to Sankolinsin, the Chinese Commander-in-Chief, there remained in our party Mr. Boulby, Lieutenant Anderson, Captain Brabazon, Mr. De Norman, one man of the King's Dragoon Guards, one man of 1st Sikh Irregular Cavalry, and our own party of seventeen men. We stood waiting for half-an-hour, when Lieutenant Anderson asked to be taken where

the other gentlemen were gone. He was told to remain till they came back. After another half-hour the Chinese army assembled in large numbers and surrounded us, made us get off our horses, and (leading them) follow them. Then about 10,000 men accompanied us to Tungchow, and made us rest for a quarter of an hour and give up our arms. They then made us remount and paraded us through the whole of the army, and then took us on the road to Pekin and rested that night in a Joss-house.

"In the morning they again mounted us on our horses and took us to Pekin. In Pekin they made us dismount and fed us, they then took us through the city to a place about two miles beyond it, then they made us dismount and gave us tents. The English officers, and natives separate. Then they took us away one by one and bound us, lying on the stomach, with hands and feet behind our backs. They kept us in this position for three days, and gave us food only three times, and then but a mouthful at a time; they then threw us, bound as we were, into carts, and took us, as I should think, about thirty miles. The mules were trotting and galloping all night. We arrived in the morning at a Fort, and were there put into prison, confined in a cage, and loaded with chains. At that time we were seven in all, Lieutenant Anderson, Mr. De Norman, one duffadar, and four sowars. I know nothing of the others, they were taken further on. We were kept in this place three days so tightly bound, we could not move.

The sowars bound with one cord, the Englishmen with two.

"The first day we got nothing to eat, after that they gave us a little as before. After the first day at the second place Lieutenant Anderson became delirious, and remained so with a few lucid intervals until his death, which occurred on the ninth day of his imprisonment. Two days before his death his nails and fingers burst from the tightness of the cord, and mortification set in, and the bones of his wrists were exposed. Whilst he was alive worms were generated in his wounds, and crawled over and eat into his body. They left the body by us three days and then took it away. Five days after Lieutenant Anderson's death a sowar, Ram Chun, died in the same state. Three days afterwards Mr. De Norman died.

"On the evening of the day of Lieutenant Anderson's decease the cords were taken off our hands, and from that time we were better treated; our feet were unbound two days after this, and kept so until our release yesterday evening. When Lieutenant Anderson and our comrades called on us to help them by biting their cords (the only way we could assist them), the Chinamen kicked us away. When we arrived at the joss-house between Tungchow and Pekin, Captain Brabazon and a Frenchman went back, and Lieutenant Anderson told us they were going to the Commander-in-Chief to give information and obtain our release."

EVIDENCE OF MAHOMED KHAN,

Fourth Troop, Fane's Horse.

"Taken prisoner by the Chinese, 18th September, 1860. When we got to the camp of the Chinese near Changkeawhan, we heard the firing commence. Messrs. Parkes and Loch left us, as also one sowar of Major Probyn's Horse. Mr. Anderson waited for about half-an-hour, and then wanted to go in search of the two gentlemen, but he was stopped by the Chinese. We were eventually taken outside Tungchow and our arms taken away from us. We then remounted, and went over the stone bridge of the canal, along the paved road to a joss-house, about a mile or two miles on this side. The next day Captain Brabazon and a Frenchman left us, and we were taken through Pekin to a garden on the other side. This place was near a lake, and temples round about it. We were then put into tents, six men in each; Mr. Anderson told off the number to each tent. This was about two o'clock in the day.

"About half-an-hour after our arrival Mr. De Norman was taken out under the pretence of having his face and hands washed. He was immediately seized, thrown on the ground, and his hands and feet tied together behind. Mr. Anderson was then taken out and tied up in the same manner, then Mr. Boulby, then the Frenchman, and then the sowar. After we had all been tied, they put water on our cords to tighten

them, they then lifted us up and took us into a courtyard, where we remained in the open air for three days exposed to the sun and cold. Mr. Anderson became delirious the second day from the effects of the sun and want of water and food; we had nothing to eat all that time, but at last they gave us two square mites of bread and a little water. In the daytime the place was left open, and hundreds of people came to stare at us, and many men of rank among them.

"At night a soldier was placed on guard over each of us. If we spoke a word or asked for water, we were beaten and stamped upon. They kicked us about the head with their boots, and if we asked for anything to eat they crammed dirt down our throats. At the end of the third day irons were put on our necks, wrists, and ankles, and about three o'clock of the fourth day we were taken away in carts. I never saw Lieutenant Anderson again. In our two carts there were eight of us, *viz.* three Frenchmen, four Sikhs, and myself; one Frenchman died on the road, he was wounded by a sword-cut on the breast. We were afterwards taken away towards the hills that night, and stopped to eat and rest, and then travelled on all the next day. We stopped again at night, and late the next day arrived at a walled town, with a large white fort outside of it. The place was surrounded on three sides by high hills; we were taken into the jail outside the town.

"A Frenchman died after we had been in jail eight

or nine days, and sowar Iren Singh three or four days after that. They both died from maggots eating into their flesh, from which mortification ensued. The Mandarin in charge of the jail took off our irons about ten days ago. The Chinese prisoners were very kind to us, cleaned and washed our wounds, and gave us what they had to eat.

(Signed) "W. FANE, Captain,
"*Com. Fane's Horse.*

"PEKIN,
"*October* 13, 1860."

DEPOSITIONS OF BUGHEL SING, SOWAR, *First Troop, Fane's Horse*; also of KAN SINGE, SOWAR, *Third Troop.*

"The first day we stopped in a joss-house on the side of the road to Pekin. We tied our horses up and went inside. The Chinese then took them away but brought them back again in the morning, and we again mounted. Then two gentlemen, Captain Brabazon, R.A., and a French officer, left our party. We went through Pekin to the other side about half a koss and pulled up at a serai, from here one of the Chinamen went away to ask if we should dismount there, on his return we were taken to some tents. This place had barracks inside, and we went through a large doorway.

"We had been there an hour-and-a-half, when we were ordered out, one by one, to wash, our hands and faces. They took out the gentlemen first, threw them down, and fastened their hands behind

them. Afterwards we were taken out. They then made us kneel down in the middle of the yard, tied our hands and feet behind, and threw us over on our hands on the ground. From this position if we attempted to rest on our right or left side, they kicked and beat us. We remained in this position all night, during which time they poured water on our bonds to tighten them. Mr. De Norman spoke to one of the Chinese officers during the night, and told him that we came to treat and not to fight, and they then gave us a little water and rice. The Hindoos would not eat it until Mr. Anderson persuaded them, when some of us ate.

"The next day a white-button Mandarin came to see us. He had many orderlies with him, and took down in writing some answers to questions put by him to Mr. De Norman. About two hours after he was gone we were loaded with irons. We got nothing more to eat or drink, and remained in this way for three days. Lieutenant Anderson's hands were swollen to three times their proper size and turned as black as ink. The whole weight of his body, chains, and all were thrown on his hands. They looked ready to burst. As long as he was sensible he encouraged us and rebuked us for calling out. When he was insensible he constantly called out on Fane and many others. He became delirious when the chains were put on. On the afternoon of the third day they took four of us (Bughil Singh, War Singh, Sonah Sing, and Mr. Boulby) away in

carts, travelled all that night, gave us no food or water, and beat us when we asked for any. Mr. Boulby's hands were not so much swollen. He spoke no Hindustani, so we could not understand him.

"About ten A.M. the next day we arrived at a Fort with a few buildings near it. There was no town. Another cart was with us. There were in it Duffadar Mahomed Khan, a French officer very tall and stout with a brown beard, and a dragoon, whose name was Phipps. We were taken into the forts, and for three days were out in the open air in the cold. They then pulled us into a kitchen and kept us there eight days. They never allowed us to stir for three or four days. Mr. Boulby died the second day after we arrived. He died from maggots forming in his wrists. He was dressed in a kind of grey check. His body remained beside us nearly three days, and was then tied to a kind of iron beam and thrown over the wall.

"The next day the Frenchman died, he was wounded slightly on the head and shoulder, apparently by a sword. Maggots got into his ears, nose, and mouth, and he became insensible. He had on a black coat, red trousers with black stripes. This officer was tall and stout. Two days after this Sowahir Sing, 1st Sikh Irregular Cavalry, died; his hands burst from the rope wounds; maggots got into the wounds and he died. Four days afterwards Phipps died; for ten days he encouraged us in every way he could, till one day his hands became swollen and maggots were

generated the next. One maggot increased a thousandfold in a day. Mahomed Rux, Duffadar, died ten days ago. He remained very well till the time of his death, and abused the Chinese for bringing him pig to eat. Maggots formed on him four days before his death, and his hands were completely eaten away. I should have died had my irons not been taken off. The Chinaman who brought us here was very kind. When he was present he dressed our wounds and gave us what we wanted; when he was absent, we got nothing.

(Certified) "W. Fane, Captain,
"*Com. Fane's Horse.*"

MR. PARKES'S NARRATIVE.

"We had just passed Changkeawhan, and were hoping to be clear in ten minutes of the Chinese lines, when a fire of Chinese artillery opened along their front, and showed that the engagement had begun. As soon as we were observed a number of Tartar horse moved into the road to intercept us, and, halting the party, I informed the officer whom we were, and asked him to allow us to pass on. He desired us not to proceed until orders arrived from a superior officer close at hand, upon which I suggested that time might be saved if I visited that officer myself. He assented, and I therefore rode towards the spot, accompanied by Mr. Loch and one sowar, carrying a white flag. The remainder

of the party, namely, Captain Brabazon, Lieutenant Anderson, Messrs. De Norman and Boulby, one dragoon, and, I believe, eighteen sowars, remained in the road, and were also provided with a white flag.

"On passing a field of tall cane, which hid us from our party, we suddenly came upon a body of infantry, who were with difficulty prevented from firing upon us, and we were directed to a mounted Mandarin, evidently one of rank, and wearing a red button, who was standing on the opposite side of the canal referred to in the early part of this report, and near to the spot where one of the bridges had been removed. The crowd of soldiers called on us to dismount and cross the canal in a boat. I tried to avoid this, but as the Mandarin referred to would not speak to me unless I did so, and seeing that we were surrounded by rude and excited soldiers, who clearly looked upon us as their prisoners, I advised Mr. Loch and the sowar to comply. By this time another Mandarin had ridden up to the former one, and hearing, as he approached, the cry raised of "The Prince! the Prince!" I inquired from an officer what Prince it was. He told me Prince Sang (Sangkolinsen), and I therefore hoped that the use which this personage had himself made in the late hostilities of flags of truce would induce him to respect the one under which we were now acting. We therefore dismounted, in order to cross to him, and directly we did so the soldiers fell upon us, tore off several of the things we had on, dragged us

across the canal, and hurled us prostrate on the ground before the Prince.

"The moment the Prince gave me an opportunity of speaking to him, which he did by asking me my name, I at once clearly informed him who I was, and of the whole character of my mission to Tungchow, adding that I was returning to my ambassador when I was stopped by his troops.

"I was proceeding with a remonstrance against the treatment I was receiving, when the Prince interrupted me by saying, 'Why did you not agree yesterday to settle the audience question?'

"'Because I was not empowered to do so,' I replied.

"The Prince then continued, in a very forbidding tone, 'Listen! You can talk reason; you have gained two victories to our one. Twice you have dared to take the Peiho forts; why does not that content you? And now you presume to give out' (the Prince here alluded to the proclamation of the Commander-in-Chief) 'that you will attack any force that stops your march on Tungchow. I am now doing that. You say that you do not direct these military movements, but I know your name, and that you instigate all the evil that your people commit. You have also used bold language in the presence of the Prince of I, and it is time that foreigners should be taught respect for Chinese nobles and ministers.'

"I endeavoured to explain the mistakes of the

Prince; told him distinctly what my functions were; that I had come to Tungchow by express agreement with the Imperial Commissioners, and solely in the interest of peace, and I again begged him to show the same respect to an English flag of truce that we had always paid to those so repeatedly sent in by the Chinese.

"The Prince, however, simply laughed at all this, and going towards a house that was close by directed the soldiers to bring me after him.

"On arriving at the house, I was again thrown on my knees before him, and the Prince asked me if I would write for him.

"Having asked what it was that he wished me to write, he said, 'Write to your people, and tell them to stop the attack.'

"'It would be useless for me to do so,' I replied, 'as I cannot control or influence military movements in any way. I will not deceive your Highness by leading you to suppose that anything I might write would have such an effect.'

"'I see you continue obstinate,' he said, 'and that you will be of no use to me.'

"I then heard him give directions to take Mr. Loch, the sowar, and myself to the Prince of I, but to conduct the escort into Changkeawhan. While the necessary preparations were being made, two high officers in his suite, wearing red buttons, took me aside into a tent, and told me to sit down and talk with them. 'Take our advice,' they said, 'and don't think of

denying that you can do this or that, or you will get into trouble.'

"I again explained to them who I was, and how far my powers extended; but they replied that they did not believe me.

"Having expressed surprise at the engagement then going on, and inquired how it had commenced, they observed, 'It does not matter how it commenced; perhaps you began it, perhaps we did: but you have at last gone too far, and will now get your deserts.'

"'But we have not gone too far,' I replied. 'It has been agreed between our ambassadors and your commissioners that we are to occupy ground up to five *le* south of Changkeawhan.'

"'Oh, we are not particular to a few *le*,' said the officers. 'It would have been quite the same if you had come within five, ten, or twenty *le* of our army. You have gone too far, we tell you.'

"The cannonading now became heavier, and the two officers had to follow Prince Sang, who rode away to the front. Mr. Loch, the sowar, and myself were ordered to get into an open cart of the roughest description, and two French soldiers, whom we had not before seen, were put in with us. A few moments before I had observed a French officer, whom I knew to be the Commissariat Intendant, being led up to the house; he had evidently been ill-used, but I could not see to what extent, nor had I any opportunity of speaking with him."

* * * * * * *

Imprisonment in Pekin.

"It was about half-past two o'clock when we were put into the cart, and the sun was setting as we reached the Chaou-yang, or eastern gate of the city. The streets were crowded with people, and our captors made the best use of us they could to give their return the character of a triumph. We continued to be driven through street after street, passing through the eastern and southern, and into the western quarter of the city, until we entered, at about eight P.M., a large court, and I saw with a shudder that we were in the hands of the Board of Punishments.

"After we had been kept waiting in a dense crowd for half an hour longer, I was taken from the cart and carried before a tribunal composed of examiners of small rank, who made me kneel, and after treating me in a very tyrannical manner, and questioning me on a few unimportant points, they loaded me with chains, and gave me over to a number of ruffianly-looking gaolers. These men conducted me through several long courts, and, happening to halt for some purpose, I knew by the clank of chains that another prisoner was approaching. It proved to be Mr. Loch; but they would not allow us to converse, and hastily sent us away in different directions. At last we stood before a building which I could see was a common prison, and as the massive door opened and

closed on me, I found myself in a throng of seventy or eighty wild-looking prisoners, most of them offensive in the extreme, as is usual in Chinese jails, from disease and dirt, and who were naturally anxious to gaze on the new comer.

"I was again carefully examined and searched by the jailers, who also saw that my chains were properly secured, and bound my arms with fresh cords, not so tightly, however, as to prevent circulation, or to occasion serious inconvenience. At the same time, however, they removed, to my intense relief, the cords from my wrists, which being very tightly tied had caused my hands to swell to twice their proper size, and were now giving me great pain. They then laid me on the raised boarding on which the prisoners sleep, and made me fast by another large chain to a beam overhead. The chains consisted of one long and heavy one stretching from the neck to the feet, to which the hands were fastened by two cross chains and handcuffs, and the feet in a similar manner.

"Being exhausted with fatigue and want of food, which I had not tasted for upwards of twenty-four hours, I fell asleep, but was soon made sensible of my position by being called up, and again carried before the same board of inquisitors. It was then about midnight, but the hour did not prevent the collection of a large crowd, composed, however, in this instance, of police-runners, jailers, lictors, and the other numerous myrmidons of Chinese law. The Mandarins, as I was placed kneeling in my chains

before them, warned me that they would force the truth from me if I did not give it willingly, and, in proof of their earnestness, they ordered four torturers to seize me, even before they began to put their questions, by the ears, and the hair of the head and face. They first asked me if I were a Chinese. I told them they had only to look at my face and hair to see that I was not. Their next questions related to my age, length of residence in China, how and where I had been employed, &c. They then proceeded as follows:—

"Inquisitors.—State the name of your head man.

"Answer.—Which one do you mean—the ambassador, general, or admiral?

"Inquisitors (angrily).—You have no such functionaries. Don't presume to use such titles.

"Here the torturers suited their action to the tone of the Mandarins, by pulling simultaneously at my hair, ears, &c.

"Inquisitors.—Now give the name of your head man.

"Answer.—Which one?

"Inquisitors.—The head of your soldiers.

"Answer (in English).—Lieutenant-General Sir Hope Grant.

"Inquisitors.—What?

"Answer (in English).—Lieutenant-General Sir Hope Grant.

"Inquisitors.—Say something that we can understand.

"Answer.—I am obliged to use the English terms, as you will not let me give you these in Chinese.

"They attempted to write down, in Chinese sounds, 'Lieutenant-General Sir Hope Grant,' but not succeeding, they asked the name of another head man.

"Answer (in English).—Ambassador Extraordinary the Earl of Elgin.

"Finding it equally impossible to write this down in Chinese, or to get on with the examination, they told me I might revert to Chinese names and titles, and I then gave them those of the Ambassador and the Commanders-in-Chief. * * * * *

"They then proceeded to examine me in the same strain as to the number of our cavalry and artillery, ships, steamers, horses, Chinese coolies, &c., and, in particular, of the range of our field and siege guns, which I gave them at three miles and upwards, together with other particulars of their destructive properties. Hearing that the horses of the force came from India, they questioned me as to the resources of that country, and were much displeased with my statement that it was within twenty days' sail of China, and had an army of upwards of 300,000 men, and a population of more than 100,000,000. They also equally disapproved of my estimate of the population of Great Britain, which I stated at about 30,000,000. But the remark which probably gave them most displeasure, and caused me some pain at the hands of the torturers, was the use, on my part, of a term for her Majesty denoting equality of rank

with the Emperor. They had inquired after our 'Prince,' to which I had replied, by stating that we had many princes, both in England and India, but that they were all under one sovereign, as in the case of the empire of China.

"'What do you mean by using such language,' they said, 'you have yourself shown that you have been long in China, that you can speak our language and read our books, and you must know, therefore, that there is but one Emperor who rules over all lands. It is your duty to communicate your superior knowledge on this subject to your countrymen, instead of encouraging them in their extravagant ideas.'

"They then insisted that I had often been in Pekin; that I had confederates here, and that they would force me to reveal their names. I firmly denied all this, and told them that I knew but three persons in Pekin.

"Inquisitors.—Name them.

"Answer.—The two Imperial Commissioners—Prince of I and Muhyin, and the Assistant-Commissioner Hangki.

"Towards the close of the examination, throughout which I was compelled to remain kneeling on the stone floor, I obtained their permission to make a statement on my own account. I then told them why I and the other gentlemen of my party had come to Tungchow; that we were all employed in the cause of peace, and not of war; but, although

acting under a flag of truce, and admitted to interviews with the Imperial Commissioners, we had been seized and were now being treated, not even as prisoners of war, but as common felons, and as offenders against Chinese law. I was urging that this great, and to me unaccountable, mistake should not be persisted in, when they interrupted me by saying, 'That is your account, but we have another story. Besides, if, as you state, you are a civilian, and have nothing to do with soldiers or their movements, why are you always seen with the advance?' To this I answered, that we always kept an interpreter in the front to be ready to receive overtures or communications from the Chinese authorities, and to look after the interest of the people. The examination ended, I was ordered back to prison. * * *

"But it was only from the prisoners that I obtained sympathy or a hearing. Many of these unfortunate men were glad, when so permitted, to come round me to listen to my story, or any description that I would give them of foreign countries and usages. Instead of following the example set them by their authorities, and treating me with abuse or ridicule, they were seldom disrespectful, addressed me by my title, and often avoided putting me to inconvenience when it was in their power to do so. Most of them were men of the lowest class and the gravest order of offenders, as murderers, burglars, &c. Those who had no means of their own were reduced by prison filth and prison diet to a shocking state of emaciation

and disease, but those who could afford to fee the jailers, and purchase such things as they wanted, lived in comparative fullness and comfort.

"The Mandarins of the board having ordered that I should be supplied with food that I could eat, my maintenance, which cost, as I was told, 1s. a day, was carried to the charge of the man who held this position, but instead of taking a dislike to me on account of the increased expense which I occasioned him, he was one of the foremost in showing me kindness or consideration. My meals consisted of two meals a day of boiled rice, or a kind of maccaroni seasoned with a very sparing allowance of meat or vegetables; also cakes or the bread of the country, and a little tea and tobacco.

"In the prison-roll which was hung up on the wall, I found myself returned as "a rebel," and that I was one out of five, out of a total of seventy-three, who were ordered to wear the heaviest chains.

"On the 22nd September I was removed from the common prison to a separate ward about eight feet square, on the opposite side of the court; the four jailers appointed to watch me crossing at the same time, and putting up in the same little room. This was scarcely done when I received a visit from the inspector of the prison, who, instead of making me kneel before him, as he had done on previous visits, desired me to be seated, and introduced another Mandarin of small rank as his relief."

INTERVIEW WITH HANG-KI.

"Shortly after they had gone, the head jailer asked me if I knew a Mandarin named Hang-ki. 'He would like to see you,' he said, 'but cannot come into the prison on account of the stench, and I do not see how you can be allowed to go out to him.' I told the jailer to act as he pleased, and a few minutes afterwards Hang-ki entered; I have by me the following note of our conversation, which I succeeded in making shortly after he had left me."

[The conversation here described is interesting, but does not contain any point of special importance.]

"At about two P.M., 26th September, received a visit from Hang-ki, attended by two prison inspectors, Gan and Choo Laou-yays. I first spoke about being put in the same prison with Loch; a small request, and easily granted if they wished to show us any humanity.

"Hang-ki followed with a long speech. 'Grand councils had been held,' he said, 'on the subject of foreign relations. It was considered that the hostilities of the allies are very different on this to all previous occasions, as by advancing on Pekin they are attacking the Emperor himself, and not, as heretofore, the Emperor's viceroys. The Emperor is therefore on his defence, and must fight for his

throne and dynasty. He has therefore determined to retire to the Hunting Palace at Jehol, in Tartary, and to call in the aid of the forty-eight Mongul Princes, each of whom can furnish, probably, 20,000 men. But, supposing that all is lost—that is, Pekin taken—and the Imperial forces retreat, fighting beyond the frontier, the dismemberment of the Empire will follow, and all trade will be at an end. Is this the course that must be adopted or not? The majority of Princes and Ministers are for it. The Prince of Ching, Prince of I, Sankolinsin, and others say that peace cannot be made with the allies, because they always make negotiations an opportunity for putting in fresh demands; also that commercial relations are far more costly than profitable to China, for, although some 4,000,000 of taels are received from foreigners annually as duties, the claims for indemnities—first, 21,000,000 dollars in 1842, then 6,000,000 taels in 1858, and now 10,000,000 taels more—almost equal the amount that has reached the Imperial Treasury from the same source during the above period. The personages just named, together with a large majority of their advisers, urge war. The Prince of Kung, the brother of the Emperor, who has now the direction of the foreign question, would be glad to see some other course, but, unless I point one out, no alternative presents itself. If I will not do this, and affairs continue to go wrong, I shall make myself a mark for the public fury, which cannot be restrained at a moment of extremity.'"

[After some further conversation, in which Mr. Parkes suggested that deputies should be sent to open negotiations.]

"'It is of no use,' said Hang-ki, 'for me to return to the Prince of Kung with a set speech of this kind. Business presses, and I doubt whether I shall be able to see you again. Have you nothing else to say? Do you still refuse to suggest a plan?' Here the Prison-Inspector, Gan-Laou-yays, interposed the remark that I ought to write a letter. 'Yes,' said Hang-ki, 'write to your Ambassador or to Mr. Wade, engaging that the Mandarin who takes the letter shall be well treated, and that there shall be a cessation of hostilities.

"I replied that it was quite out of my power to say anything about the discontinuance of hostilities, and that were I to make such a proposal it would be wholly useless, as it would have no effect upon the proceedings of the English Ambassador. 'I have suggested a plan,' I added, 'namely, that you should send out your deputies, and return Mr. Loch and myself with them, in which case we would be answerable for their safety, and they could make any representations or overtures that you might desire. I cannot undertake to do more. As to your menace, I know that I am in danger as long as I am in your hands, because it is no uncommon thing for the Chinese to deal cruelly with their prisoners, or even to take their lives. But while I should prepare for the worst, I know also that my

fate will be determined, not by your will, but by that of God. On the other hand, it is for you to bear in mind that, although you would do the allied force but little injury by killing the few prisoners who have fallen into your hands, you would by such an act, bring down upon yourselves a terrible vengeance.' I also reminded Hang-ki of the different treatment which he received when detained as a prisoner by the allies at Canton in 1858; and I again begged that, in view of whatever might happen to us, Mr. Loch and myself might at least have the satisfaction of being put into the same prison.

"Hang-ki replied that his imprisonment and mine were not parallel cases, that he could not say whether Mr. Loch and myself could be allowed to be together, and that he felt he was returning to the Prince of Kung without having anything to tell him. 'You will be in no danger, however,' he added, 'during the next two or three days.'"

Confinement in a Temple.

"Having been put into separate vehicles, we were conveyed, in the charge of Hang-ki and a strong escort, to the temple spoken of. Here we were placed in a room about twenty feet by ten, which was entered by another room of the same dimensions, in which eight of the jailers of the board were stationed. These rooms looked into an open court about forty feet square, in which we were

allowed to take exercise, but a strong party of soldiers guarded the outer entrance into this court, and we soon became aware that military were put up, in and about all parts of the building. Hang-ki explained the presence of the jailers, by saying that they had been brought here to act as our servants. With a degree of consideration for our comfort, not usually shown by Mandarins, he had supplied us not only with such essentials as good food, beds, &c., but also with the luxuries of writing materials, soap, and towels, &c. He left it to ourselves to order our meals whenever we chose, and these, I may mention, were abundant and good during the time of our stay in the Kaowmean temple. As soon as he had seen us located in our new quarters, I gave him, according to my promise, the following note:—

"'The Chinese authorities are now treating Mr. Loch and myself well, and we are informed that this is done by direction of the Prince of Kung. We are also told that his Highness is a man of decision and great intelligence, and I trust that, under these circumstances, hostilities may be temporarily suspended to give opportunity for negotiation.'

"*September* 30.—One of Hang-ki's head servants delivered, in the name of the Prince of Kung, a large present of fruit and confectionary. Hang-ki followed himself at 2 P.M., and talked at considerable length, without having any apparent object. He maintained that the invasion of a country and a march upon the

capital was altogether contrary to justice and reason, and that was what we were now doing.

"*October* 1.—Hang-ki called at 11 A.M., and was accompanied by Lau, formerly Taoutai at Shanghai, and a high literary Mandarin. Lau had been sent by the Prince of I to Hooseewoo with despatches for the Ambassadors at the same time that Mr. Wade and myself had visited the Prince at Tungchow. In a half-serious tone I compared the different treatment in the two cases. On the 16th of September I had carefully escorted Lau past our lines, and on the 18th I had been seized and brutally ill-treated by the Chinese in theirs. Hang-ki came forward in defence. The seizure of myself and party was almost a necessity, he said, arising out of the exigency of the moment: hostilities had been resumed, I was in their hands at the time, and it is contrary to all reason, he added, to put a sword into the hand of your enemy at the very time when you are going to give him combat. True, I had at one time to complain of ill-treatment, but that had been corrected, and I was now well taken care of. They all blamed Sankolinsin and the Prince of I for fighting at Changkeawan instead of concluding peace; but, although they admitted that my detention was an act of treachery, they would not see in my present detention a continuation of the injustice. 'The Prince of Kung does not approve,' Hang-ki said, 'of Mr. Loch going out with the deputies; but we wish you to write a note to Lord Elgin proposing that your army

should retire for ten or twenty le, and that deputies from both sides should then meet upon some neutral ground.' I pointed out that such proposals should be made by them to your Lordship direct, and not through me, and that I could not lower myself in the eyes of my own people by proposing that our troops should fall back previous to negotiation. I consented, however, to note the proposal they made as to a meeting on neutral ground, and accordingly wrote to your Lordship the annexed letter. Mr. Loch and myself also prepared private notes to be used in the event of Prince Kung allowing these to be forwarded with the former."

Liberation of Parkes and Loch.

" *October* 7.—At daybreak this morning, we heard the sound of a cannonade, which lasted for a few minutes, and then ceased. It seemed to come from no considerable distance, and, as the information conveyed to us, both publicly and secretly, from our friends in the camp, had warned us that an attack might take place at any time, we thought that this critical moment had now arrived. At a quarter to eight Hang-ki came in to learn from us the meaning of the firing. He could no longer conceal from us that our army was before Pekin, and admitted that Ewen-ming-Ewen—the Emperor's summer palace—had been taken by the allied troops yesterday afternoon. The Prince of Kung, who had been staying

there all along, had managed to escape; but he, Hang-ki, had been nearly taken, as he was going out to the palace, yesterday afternoon. Returning to the city, in the evening, he found all the gates closed and the walls manned, and his only means of getting into the city was by being hauled up in a basket. He feared that my note, stating that we should be sent out on the 8th, and the official letter from Prince Kung covering it, could not have reached the English camp.

"I told him that, during the whole time of our confinement, both in the prison and in the temple, we had never ceased to warn them against the danger of delay, and all that we had foretold seemed now to be coming to pass. Their only chance of escape lay in the immediate surrender of their prisoners.

"'How is that to be done,' said Hang-ki, 'in the face of firing? and how can I now get the authority of Prince Kung for your surrender? Your immediate departure would also interfere with the interview he intended to give you to-day.'

"'The interview,' we replied, 'was of little importance, and danger to the city, in case of delay, was imminent.' We advised him, therefore, to arrange for our being sent away at once, regardless of whether we had to go out in the face of fire or not, as we were very willing to risk that danger.

"He left us, promising to return shortly, and we counted the minutes, until these became hours and the day began to wear away. We did not again

hear the sound of attack, but detected, now and then, some stir, as the movement of troops, in our vicinity, and could observe looks of concern on the faces of our guards and jailers. We sent to Hang-ki's house to inquire about his movements, but all we could learn from his servants was that after leaving us he had been lowered over the city wall, and had gone as they supposed in quest of Prince Kung. It was impossible to tell when he would return.

"We anxiously looked forward for the next morning, and felt some relief when no cannonade was heard as daylight broke. By sending to Hang-ki's house we learned that he had returned home at 3 A.M., and would be with us shortly. He came at nine, and the glimpse obtained of his countenance, before he had put on the look he wished to assume, showed considerable dejection and anxiety. He explained to us why he had not returned yesterday. 'I left you full of concern,' he said, 'as I knew that the city and your lives were both in danger. Had the city been assaulted, the first cry raised by the soldiers would have been, "Away with the foreign prisoners." When I inquired for Prince Kung, I found that he was too far off for me to hope to reach him. I therefore despatched a note, proposing that you should be given up at once, on condition that the foreign troops should retire from Ewen-ming-Ewen, which they had begun to plunder. At the same time I received an invitation from Mr. Wade, to meet him outside the Tihshing gate at four o'clock in

the afternoon. I went, and we had a long discussion. He demanded not only the immediate surrender of the prisoners, but also one of the city gates, and he handed me this letter, in which you see he states the same in writing. It is quite impossible to comply with such a demand, and what therefore can be done under such circumstances?'

"I read the note which ran in the names of the allied Commanders-in-Chief demanding the liberation of all the prisoners who had been seized, and the delivery into their hands of one of the gates of the city, as a precaution against further acts of perfidy on the part of the Chinese. I could only tell Hang-ki that this step was rendered necessary by their previous acts of bad faith, and that the allies could no longer put any trust in them. It was useless to hope that the allied generals would alter their determination when they had once taken it, nor did I see any course open to the Chinese except compliance.

"At this moment the prospect before us seemed darker than ever, but Hang-ki, after some hesitation, relieved us from our suspense by remarking that he had agreed with Mr. Wade that we should be given up to-day as already promised, and that we should be sent out at four o'clock in the afternoon. Unable to rely upon the assurance of any Mandarin, we anxiously awaited the hour named, and could see that considerable uneasiness was evinced by Hang-ki, who visited us several times in the course of the morning. At one time he whispered to me, 'I am

particularly anxious to get you away for reasons that I will tell you of at a future time, and I will not wait for the hour named to send you off.' He was now willing to give us some information respecting the other prisoners. Upwards of twenty had been taken, he said; but with a view to their safe custody, they had been divided into small parties and sent away to different district cities in the interior. It would take some days to get them all back, and he had heard that four or five of them had sickened and died. Those in Pekin numbered eight in all, inclusive of Mr. Loch and myself, and we were all to be sent out together.

"At last, at two o'clock, he told us that all the prisoners had been assembled, and that we could take our departure. We were placed in covered carts, without being allowed to see each other, and were escorted by a large party of soldiers and Mandarins through streets which wore a deserted appearance to the Se-che, or north-western gate of the city. We soon saw, with thankful hearts, as those great portals opened, and then immediately closed behind us, that we were already free men, for our guard, not daring to follow us out of the city, had left to ourselves the pleasant task of finding our way to the allied camp.

"I must not close this report without endeavouring to express my gratitude to your Lordship for the firm and uncompromising manner in which you insisted, from the first, upon our surrender, and which, under

the blessing of Divine Providence, has mainly contributed to our liberation. Nor should I omit to acknowledge the great debt I also owe to my fellow-prisoner, Mr. Loch, for the warm support I invariably received from him whenever a moment of trial or of danger presented itself. I have, &c.

"Harry S. Parkes."

I never saw a more pitiable sight than the return of the sowars; having read their own statements, you can well imagine the state of those who survived such brutal and cruel treatment. Hardly able to walk, they dragged their legs along and held their hands before their breasts in a posture denoting great suffering, and such hands as they were, crumpled up and distorted in every possible way; some with running sores at the wrists, some in which the bloated appearance caused by the cords had not yet gone away, and some were shrivelled like a bird's claw and appeared to be dead and withered.

Having seen these poor fellows as they came in, I was not much surprised with a scene which I witnessed a few days afterwards.

I was standing near the entrance of the head-quarter temple on the evening of the first day of the burning of the palace, when a Chinaman came up to me and kowtowed most submissively, and begged of me by signs to accompany him. He made signs

that his tail would be cut off, which tail John Chinaman values very much, as the loss of it is the loss of character, although I believe there are as many false tails in China as there are forged characters at home; he also intimated something about cutting off heads, and being bound; my curiosity was excited so much by his gestures and by his vehemence, that I went with him. On the way he made a gesture of winding something round his head, this intimated a turban, and as the quarters of Fane's Horse were close at hand, I imagined that one of the sowars had alarmed him and would not let him pass out of the lines. Suddenly, however, he darted into the courtyard of a house and beckoned me to follow him, and in the courtyard I found a sowar walking about as if on sentry, and I heard groans proceeding from two rooms.

One of these rooms I entered, and found a Chinaman lying on his face, with his hands and feet tied together in one knot and meeting all together behind his back, exactly in the position in which the unfortunate prisoners had been tied; his tail had been cut off, and water had been poured on the cords to tighten them, as it had been in the case of the prisoners.

While I was looking at the unfortunate wretch, the sowar quietly walked away. My first impression was that these men had been imprisoned by us for some theft, and that the sowar, as sentry, had secured them thus out of revenge; but when I found that he had gone away, I understood at once that it

was a private "pigeon" of his own. In the second room I found another poor fellow in the same plight, and here the Sikh had lit a fire and had his kettle boiling, and was preparing to spend a pleasant evening contemplating the sufferings of the Chinamen. Probably some relation of his in Fane's Horse had suffered or perhaps died under the hands of those barbarians, and he took this method of inflicting retribution. There was something of what Mr. O'Connel used to call "the wild justice of revenge" about it. I contented myself with setting the unfortunates at liberty, for which they expressed their gratitude by rubbing their noses and foreheads in the dust at my feet, or "kowtowing" in the most approved style.

The bodies of De Norman, Boulby, Anderson, and private Phipps, of the King's Dragoon Guards, were sent in; they were indeed wretched remains, not to be recognized, but by some part of the dress. Poor De Norman's leather coat, which we all knew so well, remained, and Boulby's socks were marked with his name. He was, indeed, a public loss, and much regretted by all in the force who knew him; he was most laborious in gathering information, very observant, and altogether as good a man as could have been sent out to chronicle the events of the war; our tents were often pitched close to each other, and I have watched him hard at work, in the early morning, as the mail time drew on, and thought with what interest those lines would be read by the people at home; how many millions of pairs

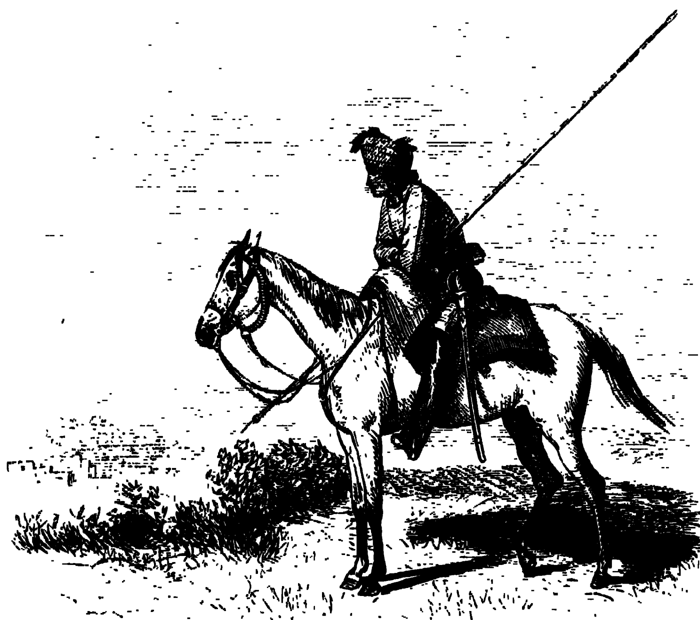
of eyes would drink in the story which they carried. What mysterious purpose was answered by the sacrifice of so many valuable lives, and so much misery both to the sufferers and those left behind, can only be known to that wise and merciful Power which rules the affairs of men, and without whom "a sparrow does not fall to the ground." We may be sure that some dire necessity existed which was not to be averted, or the God of mercy would not have permitted his servants to fall into the hands of such wretches.

We may, perhaps, conjecture that in the good faith of our own hearts we were fools, and slow to believe the daring falsehood and treachery of the Government with which we had to deal; and that some lesson must be learned by the allied powers which would teach them this, and burn it indelibly by bitter sorrow into the heart and memory of those at home as of those in China that an Asiatic, and above all a Chinese Governor will not keep faith except through fear, and that if you are to have any dealings with him at all, you must first terrify him, and flog a certain amount of truth into him by making him associate the idea of lies and suffering. It may be that had we not learned at the cost of such a sacrifice, the unfathomable duplicity and cruelty of the Pekin Government, we might have fallen in greater numbers into some wily snare, and lost not perhaps only subordinates, but the chiefs of our mission.

On Wednesday, the 17th of October, the funeral of Messrs. Boulby, Anderson, De Norman, and private Phipps, took place. The Russian Embassy had given permission in the kindest manner that their burial-ground should be used for the interment of those unfortunate victims of Chinese treachery and barbarity, and I would here bear most willing testimony to the kindness and courtesy of the Russian authorities in China, throughout the whole campaign; whatever information it was in their power to give, they were ever ready to afford, and the cordial good feeling which they evinced upon every occasion, was enough of itself to contradict the silly idea put forth in 1859, by the marines at Takoo, that they had seen Russian faces and heard Russian voices at the south fort from which they were repulsed.

The Tartars fought just as well in 1860 as they did the year before, and had the forts been attacked in the same way in that year as they were in the previous by the same number of the best men in the world, the result must have been similar; there is therefore no need to imagine that there were Russians there upon that occasion. More than one Russian officer, high in rank, told me during the campaign, that we were rendering immense service to Russia, and there can be no doubt that their conduct to us was in accordance with that idea.

The Russian burial-ground is outside the north wall of the city, about a quarter of a mile from it, and on the verge of that large parade ground already



VIDETTE OF FANE'S HORSE BEFORE PEKIN, 1860.

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described, it is walled in and planted, and an old Chinaman lives there, and takes care of it, so that the friends of those whose fate it has been to take their last earthly rest here, may feel secure that the remains of those whom they loved, and still love, will rest in peace till that great day when earth and sea shall alike yield up the dead that they have hidden, at the voice of Him who has "redeemed us and washed us in his blood," when time shall be no more. May we meet them then in peace through Him who has "made peace by the blood of his Cross."

The funeral was an impressive sight. Lord Elgin and Sir H. Grant were chief mourners; every one made a point of attending, as it was a gratification to the feelings of all, to show the last tribute of respect to the memory of the departed, and to mark their sympathy with the cruel fate, which had carried them away in the midst of a career of usefulness and honour; nor was there less sympathy for the private soldier than for his superior. Poor Phipps, of the King's Dragoon Guards, with the true spirit which marks not only his own corps, but the British army at large, while he was himself suffering the most cruel tortures, being preyed upon while yet alive, had not only borne cheerfully his own agonies, and who can imagine them! but cheered his companions in suffering up to the very moment that he sank under his own.

The funeral service was read by me, as principal chaplain, and the priest of the Russian church having

requested me to permit him to take part in the service, bore the cross, the emblem of the faith of Christ, at the graves, while the service was being read.

Winter seemed to have set in on that day; the heavens were black, and bitter was the cold north wind, which cut into the very marrow of our bones, as it swept from the snow-capped mountains down over the plain, but the sun shone brightly on the next day, when by the General's order the First Division marched out under command of Sir John Michel, to burn the Ewen-ming-Ewen, and all imperial property within a circuit of several miles. Never did a Division march with a better will to perform a more just and loudly called for act of retribution, upon an imperious, treacherous, and cruel power. There at that palace were the horses and property of the prisoners found; there had the fiendish usage to which they had been subjected begun; who was answerable for it? If you say that Sankolinsin was the author of the crime, he was but a subordinate, and acted in concert with the Prince of I, who was befooling us with negotiations at Hoseewoo and Tungchow, while Sankolinsin was getting his army into order and arranging his treacherous attack. No, the imperial power was to blame in this most disgraceful act, which stains the page of modern history; and most justly did Lord Elgin and Sir H. Grant devote to destruction the imperial property, and I hope that England feels that they deserve, as they most certainly do, the thanks of the country for this

performance of a special duty, as well as for everything else in their conduct of the mission and the campaign.

Among other important documents found at the imperial palace were some "Memorials," addressed by officers of state to the Emperor, of a very pressing nature and of a very important character. They have much interest, as they illustrate the views of those in power in reference to us; and the arguments which were used to induce the Emperor to adopt the policy which he pursued; and as state papers they are of no mean character. Having been fortunate enough to obtain copies of the translations, made by Mr. Wade, I insert them here, as they have not, I believe, been as yet made public. They prove that the flight of the Emperor to Jehol was against the advice of his ministers.

No. I.—MEMORIAL BY SANKOLINSIN.

7th Month, 10th day (26th August).

"Your slave Sankolinsin, kneeling, presents a Memorial, judging that the changeable disposition of the barbarians will make it impossible to carry into effect the pacific policy, he, in the name of the princes and dukes of the six leagues, prays your Majesty to proceed on a hunting tour, in order that measures for attacking and destroying the barbarians may be facilitated.

"Your slave lately lost the position at Takoo, where he commanded, in consequence of the unforeseen explosion of the powder magazines at two of the north forts simultaneously, and not from any slackness in the defence or insufficiency of means; therefore he apprehends that now it will be difficult to make the barbarians submit, yet that their demands can hardly be granted.

"Your slave has made the necessary dispositions along the road between Tien-Tsin and Tungchow. If fighting should take place near Tungchow, it is to be feared that the minds of the inhabitants of Pekin would be greatly agitated. Victory or defeat may depend on the circumstances of a moment. Should a reverse possibly occur, the trading people who congregate in the capital would desert in multitudes, and if perchance the hearts of the soldiers should fail, the consequences might be momentous. (This means that the Emperor might be made a prisoner.)

"Your slave has received the greatest favours from your Majesty; and has shown no return for them. After the most anxious reflection on this present critical state of affairs, the best course which has suggested itself to him, and which he has adopted, appeared to be to write to the princes and others of the six leagues, desiring them to repair to the capital with the *élite* of their troops, so that they might attend your Majesty on your route, with the proper honours, and there join the rest of the forces. He humbly begs your Majesty to follow the precedent of

making a hunting tour in the autumn, and accordingly to leave the capital for a time; and further, that the princes and state officers left at the head of affairs may be commanded to see that the army keep the city in the most perfect state of defence, until they are joined by the troops of the six leagues, when, all together, they may attack and exterminate the enemy. If at that time your Majesty should be in the capital, not only might the execution of needful plans be impeded, but also alarm might unfortunately be excited in your own mind. Your slave does not shrink from thus, in the name of the princes and others of the leagues, rashly expressing his and their obscure views, and which he yet urgently solicits your Majesty to permit to be carried into effect. He would then be set at liberty to choose his own time and mode of attack, and might advance or retire as events should make necessary. Without any doubt he would exterminate the vile brood from off the earth, and redeem his previous shortcomings. He addresses this secret Memorial to your Majesty for your decision thereupon. He does not venture to forward this by the regular express, but, reverently sealing it, he entrusts it to Kun Sing to deliver it in person."

No. II.—MEMORIAL BY KIA CHING, AND SIGNED BY TWENTY-FIVE OTHERS.

7th Month, 24th day (September 9th).

"Your minister, Kia Ching, and others, kneeling, present a Memorial, plainly expressing, in obedience

to the imperial command, their opinions on the present critical conjuncture. On this 24th day of the month (9th Sept.), they have received a vermillion decree, together with a secret Memorial by Sankolinsin, which they were directed to peruse. In the decree they reverently read that their Emperor proposed to command in person the battalions of the empire, and to proceed to Tungchow to exterminate the vile brood of barbarians, and in this they observed the firm resolution of the sacred son of heaven, who governs and tranquillizes the universe.

"But they remember that the place in question is not Tanquen, and at this time Kan Chun has not come forward. (In allusion to a circumstance in Chinese history, A.D. 1000, when the then reigning Emperor took the field against the Mongol Tartars, and defeated them.) The mist of the sea should be dissipated by the celestial wrath, but still they consider that the course proposed is not that which would best conduce to the interests of the state, and they deem that it ought not on any account to be lightly adopted. And Sankolinsin's propositions regarding a hunting tour your ministers hold to be even more objectionable. If the capital, which is encompassed with a strong and uninterrupted line of fortifications, is not secure, what shelter is to be looked for in open and unfenced hunting grounds? But further, your Majesty's departure would excite the wildest agitation in the people's minds. (Here a reference to Chinese history is inserted to convey a suggestion that the Emperor,

after passing the Great Wall, might perhaps be unable to return.)

"Since the barbarians have been able to reach the post of Tien-Tsin, what is there to prevent them from likewise penetrating to the Loon River (at Jehol)? Your ministers cannot endure to dwell on the ideas which these reflections awaken in their minds. To their dull perceptions it seems that men must act in reference to calculable contingencies, while they await in submission the inscrutable decrees of Heaven. They cannot but think that Providence has guarded their humane and beneficent Government during the 200 years of its time, of the empire, and they would take courage to exert themselves strenuously in the emergency which has occurred. They purpose that your Majesty should issue an edict, to reassure the people and incite them to courageous action; that high rewards should be promised to all who distinguish themselves, and that special attention should be given to placing the army in a perfect state of efficiency. They request that your Majesty will charge the princes and others charged therewith, speedily to mature and carry out the arrangements for the war of defence and extermination. They humbly beg your Majesty's decision as to whether their proposals are right or wrong."

No. III.—MEMORIAL BY TSINEN YUNG AND FORTY OTHERS.

7th Month, 27th day (12th September).

"Your ministers consider that the project of a hunting tour is likely to endanger the stability of the Government, and they therefore pray that your Majesty will remain in the capital. Your ministers have heard, with the greatest surprise and alarm, that, in consequence of the failure of the attempt to bring the barbarians to terms, your Majesty has resolved on making a tour to Jehol, and that orders had been sent to the various corps of the banners to make the necessary preparations. As the safety of the empire might be compromised by such a proceeding, your ministers, under a deep sense of responsibility, desire to submit in detail various reasons which they conceive to weigh against its adoption.

"More than 200 years have elapsed since the establishment of the empire by Shunche, and the foundation of the ancestral temples. A time of general distress and difficulty having now arrived, it is of the utmost consequence that the minds of the people should be kept tranquil; but for your Majesty to undertake so universal a journey at the very moment when the approach of the outside barbarians is imminent, would be a thing which must cause extreme alarm and confusion. The daily accounts of the impressment of carts and carriages along the route have already produced much agitation amongst the people, but,

after your Majesty shall have started, a succession of disorders will arise.

"So great a disturbance of the ancestral and tutelary spirits, this voluntary provocation of dangers, must surely hereafter produce bitter, but unavailing regret in your Majesty's mind—and these considerations constitute the first ground which your ministers have to adduce against the project of the hunting excursion. The autumnal hunting tour has hitherto been undertaken, when the occasion seemed expedient, only at periods of tranquillity, and in this manner it has been an institution of our august dynasty. But now, when the barbarians are raising commotions, when the rebels are spreading over the country, all people both at the capital and in the country look to your Majesty, present at the seat of Government, as the centre from which the plans of Government must emanate, and the support of authority and order. This sudden departure without any apparent reason (although called a hunting tour) will bear the aspect of a flight; not only will it tend to shake the resolution of the troops and their officers, near the capital; but the commanders of the various armies at a distance will also be filled with doubts and alarms, nor can it be asserted that the intelligence will not greatly raise the courage of the rebels. Thus all the great interests of the empire will be endangered, and perhaps beyond a chance of remedy; herein is the second ground of your ministers' objection to the tour.

"The imperial residence is securely guarded, and it is the honourable seat of Majesty. At such a moment as this, when it is the sovereign's only proper place of residence, is not the time suddenly to propose a travelling tour. Moreover, when turmoil everywhere prevails, the police of the roads cannot be expected to be perfect. A journey to Jehol has not been made since that of the late Emperor Tao Yunang, forty years ago; and the crowd of carriages and horses will greatly surprise the inhabitants of the places through which they pass. It is said that the people about Jehol are far from being as orderly as they formerly were. Robberies on the highway have become very numerous. The people, who are distressed through the falling off in the yield of the mines, herd together in tens and hundreds, and go about creating disturbance. Should some unlooked-for mischief befall your Majesty, or should spies carry the information of your absence, the barbarians might be emboldened to attempt some fresh enterprise. If the discussions respecting the exchange of treaties should be brought to a successful conclusion, it would cause great inconvenience to be long delayed in waiting for your Majesty's commands: thereupon the above are a third reason against the tour.

"Since the time of the commencement of the war, the rebellion, the treasury has daily become more and more embarrassed, and it is very difficult to meet the regular expenditure of the capital. Jehol is a great resort of the Mongols, and we have heard that upon

these, whenever an imperial tour was made in the times of Yuen Lung and Yai Yuing, presents amounting to no less than several tens of millions were bestowed. The state of the finances would not admit of this rule being now followed, and it would be difficult.

"Again, the requisite escort of officials, troops, and followers would have to be over 10,000 persons, numbers of whom, should there be any deficiency in the supplies, could not be prevented from deserting. Lastly, much of the route is along the frontier, where banditti roam about at will, by whom some unexpected mischief might be committed: these considerations make a fourth ground of objection to the proposed tour.

"Let it not be supposed that your ministers desire to parade grand arguments, regardless of your Majesty's danger in a critical emergency; nor that they would have anything to allege against an ordinary peaceable tour, such as has been practical in former times. Taking the most practical view of the subject, they cannot see that any necessity has now arisen to enter precipitately upon the undertaking in question. Granting that the whole force of the barbarians hardly exceeds 10,000 men, and that Sankolinsin commands more than 30,000, they make no question that the many might defeat the few. They desire to notice the fact, that the barbarians who have come across the ocean have hitherto shown that their only object is to trade. Their creeping into Shangtung, Fokien, Shanghai, and

other places was only to seize the ports, and not to take possession of the country, nor have they attempted any conquest of China. Even the point of entry into Pekin is one which might be satisfactorily disposed of. In all which is going on, there is nothing to make one apprehend great misfortune, but if, before the appearance of the barbarians, a flight should take place, it is impossible to say what revolution in affairs might not be the immediate consequence. The mind recoils from speculation on the subject. Far better would be due forethought and deliberation before the event, than unavailing regrets after.

"Another consideration is, that in your Majesty's present happy state of convalescence, it would be undesirable to expose yourself to the fatigues of travelling during the yet hot weather of autumn. Such are your ministers' obscure views, &c., &c., &c."

No. IV.—MEMORIAL BY TSINEN YUNG, A PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF CIVIL OFFICE, SIGNED BY TWENTY-THREE OTHERS.

7th Month, 28th day (13th September).

"Your ministers, Tsinen Yung and others, kneeling, present a Memorial. They again state in detail their opinions, to show that the departure of your Majesty to a place to the northward of Pekin, must create great agitation in the metropolis; and that the best means of restoring tranquillity, and confirming

the spirit of the army, would be for your Majesty to remain at Pekin. At a period of public distress, the man of heroic character is prepared to die at his post, and at such a time, the most perfect sincerity and truthfulness only befit the conduct of either high or low. Your ministers have to-day respectfully read the vermillion decree, stating that the arrangements for your Majesty's proposed hunting expedition are to serve as preparations for taking the field in person, and that if the enemy is met in the vicinity of Matow or Tungchow, your Majesty will proceed with a strong force as originally intended to a place to the northward of Pekin, and there take up a position.

"They admire the inspiring demeanour and the strategic ability thus displayed. But the common people are extremely slow of comprehension; they easily suspect, and with difficulty appreciate, and they will say that as the barbarians are to the south-eastward of the capital, the change of plan from a hunting tour to taking the field in person should induce your Majesty to remain at Tungchow for the support of Sankolinsin; that the taking up a post to the northward of the capital would be a departure from the seat of war, and accordingly that what in name was campaigning, was in reality a hunting tour. The people's mind would be disturbed, and the spirit of the troops would fail. If defence and holding out in words, are to mean flight and desertion in fact, your ministers will not urge on

your Majesty. Thus the temples of your ancestors and the altars of the tutelary gods will be abandoned (*i. e.* the empire lost).

"But they ask where else could your Majesty's personal safety be better assured than at the capital? Beyond the Hoopee-kow pass (in the Great Wall) is the haunt of Russian barbarians, and these have been constantly pretending to deliver communications to the Government at Pekin for the furtherance of some treacherous designs. That region is also frequented by bands of mounted robbers, who suddenly collect in hundreds and thousands, and attack traders and officials, respecting whom, however, all reports have been suppressed by the local Mandarins. Although the barbarians may be near the capital, yet its fortifications being strong, and its garrison large, in it no danger need be feared; wherefore, then, should your Majesty go into the dens of tigers and robbers? If it be said that your Majesty's departure would balk the barbarians' scheme, and contribute to facilitate either peace or warfare as might be expedient, it should not be forgotten, on the other hand, that if commotions were to arise within the capital, the authors of our calamities would not be the barbarians, but ourselves.

"There may be some about your Majesty's person, who will say that the repeated attempt of so many of your ministers to dissuade your Majesty from the hunting tour, proceed from personal motives and a desire to lessen their own danger. To this they would

reply that such a tour has never been known to occasion inconvenience to the whole body of officials; but, on the contrary, that did they desire their own advantage, they would favour the project, for it would give themselves the means of escaping danger. These three questions present themselves:—What if your Majesty should find yourself in a place without any retreat? What if your Majesty's departure should lead to commotions within the capital? What if your Majesty should be in the midst of more serious dangers than when at Pekin? Your Majesty is well familiar with the maxim, that the Prince is bound to sacrifice himself for his country. But far be it from your ministers at such a time as this to desire to wound your Majesty's feelings by adverting to such thoughts; and, indeed, the crisis is in no degree so serious as to make it necessary to dwell on them.

"The great danger now to be avoided is that of disturbance arising from within. At all risks your ministers make the above reverent exposition of their sentiments, and they await your Majesty's commands, &c."

No. V.—MEMORIAL BY AI JIN, A CENSOR, AND SEVENTY-FOUR OTHERS.

7th Month, 27th day (12th September).

"Your ministers, Ai Jin and others, respectfully submit their opinion that the capital and court ought

not to be forsaken on light grounds. On the 24th day of this present month the princes and ministers of the inner council received a vermillion decree, stating that your Majesty intended proceeding for a time on a hunting tour. Your ministers heard of this with extreme astonishment and alarm; they would humbly remark that, although the barbarians' vessels may have reached Tien-Tsin, the circumstance has not excited much fear in the capital. The throne is that in which all things centre, and to which the eyes of all men turn: one step of the Emperor's foot shakes the earth. The project in question, then, must have originated without due thought of the dangers which would ensue therefrom. It is impossible that your Majesty's household, and the princes and grandees who will form your escort and live in Pekin, can be well disposed, and who leave a place of security, even in attendance on the imperial person.

"Commencing in haste and confusion, the crowd of followers would be alive to everything which excite their fears; and if they should disperse in mid-journey, no means might be found of going back or forward. Since 1820, the year in which his late Majesty discontinued the hunting tour, it is said that the country has become very desolate, and that the travelling places have fallen now into disrepair and are unfit to live in. Your ministers do not know what the character of the inhabitants may now be, but they may safely say that it cannot be as loyal as that of the inhabit-

ants of the capital city, which has been established for 200 years. Again, Jehol is at no great distance from the Shanghai Kwane (pass near the terminus of the great wall), and other places which are quite accessible to the barbarians.

"It is also near the Russian barbarians; and such being the case, who can deem it secure? Our troops now are several times more numerous than those of the barbarians, but if your Majesty were to leave the Court, every-one would be disheartened, a panic might break out, the barbarians would use the opportunity to take the city, and we should become victims to their wiles in a worse degree than when the men of Kin in ancient times installed Lein Yu and Chang Pang Chang in the Government (about A.D. 1127). Thenceforward the capital would not belong to us, and the empire would share its fate.

"As to a council of regency, composed of princes and ministers appointed to act during your Majesty's temporary absence, your ministers would remark that the present time may not be compared with that of the Kia Ching reign. By no possibility could the proper management of domestic as well as foreign affairs be safely confided to it. From of old it has been seen that it could never be certified that the conclusion of such a regency would match with its beginning.

"Although Tai-Tsung, of the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1457), was not a disloyal prince, yet when Jing-Tsung returned from his northern journey to the Sha Mo, it was by a slight chance that he escaped

passing the remainder of his days in retirement in the south of the country. The experience of all former regencies is calculated to inspire the utmost caution with reference to such a mode of administration.

"From the first establishment of our dynasty there has been a great intermingling of natives and foreigners, and they have flourished in mutual prosperity; of this we have had a previous example. The barbarians of the present day are nothing comparable in ferocity to those of the time of Yung Kia, in the Tsin dynasty (A.D. 309), or Tsing-Kang, in the Sung dynasty (A.D. 1127). If then, giving ear to base gossip and on the impulse of the moment, the empire of the world is to be thrown away like a weed, the duty to the spirits of the saints in the other world will have been left undone, and no response will have been made to the aspirations of governing or governed throughout the universe. Let the Emperor's clear intelligence decide how he could bear such a thought. We know how in the 18th Kia Ching year (1813), while his Majesty the then reigning Emperor (Kia Ching) was on a hunting tour, the revolt of Lin Tsing broke out; the alarm it occasioned, causing all traffic to be suspended and the shops to be shut, and how the Emperor's return diffused general delight and restored the tranquillity of the city. The danger was then most threatening, as need not be proved. A puff of breath is now sufficient to decide the balance in which hangs the

loss or preservation of the succession of your ancestors, and the repose of the tutelary gods (*i.e.* the fate of the dynasty).

"We humbly entreat your Majesty of your sole motion to determine that the project lately contemplated shall be renounced, and so make your empire to rejoice. Your ministers ask one more act of grace. As your Majesty's intention to travel was publicly announced, and men's minds have been so much disturbed, that it would be difficult to reassure them, they beg that you will promulgate your determination to return to your palace, that false rumours may be at once extinguished and tranquillity restored, the national decline may be arrested, and the Government may recommence a course of success. Your ministers and the others, being by their office obliged to call attention to national evils, have accordingly thus expressed their imperfect views with all humility, and they await your Majesty's commands, &c., &c."

No. VI.—MEMORIAL BY AI YIN, A CENSOR; AND TWENTY-SIX OTHERS.

7th Month, 28th day (13th September).

"Your ministers having yesterday presented a Memorial in their joint names to your Majesty, then received with reverence a vermilion decree. On perusal of it they were deeply and gratefully impressed by the solicitude it showed to have been

excited in your Majesty's mind; but the proposition it contained was one in which they cannot concur, and therefore they do not dare to refrain from again rashly urging their views. For the Emperor to command the army in person is a thing which may not be lightly undertaken. In 1853, when the Cantonese rebels overran the country, advancing impetuously towards the north, the alarm occasioned in the capital was many times more serious than that now manifested. Happily your Majesty appointed generals able to cope with the enemy, and the rampant outbreak was quelled. Why should not now the barbarians, hardly 10,000 in number, be easily vanquished and expelled from the country by the many times larger army under our generals?

"Would not the assumption of command be a derogation from the Imperial dignity, and likely to astonish all who should hear of it? Moreover, your Majesty's intention to go hunting having been first published, would the announcement of your change of purpose be certain to meet with universal belief? Again, the tranquillity of people's minds depends upon your Majesty's presence at the seat of government, and it would be subverted by your departure therefrom. Again, your Majesty proceeding to the northward, while the enemy was at the south, would be another circumstance, producing much doubt and disturbance.

"In former journeys of the Emperor, it has been the practice to appoint sundry princes and state officials

to carry on affairs while he was absent. Matters of great moment being still referred to his Majesty, and the arrangement was an excellent one. But this troublous season is not at all to be compared with peaceful times. It would be most difficult to find to whom the superintendence of the government could be safely entrusted. The greatest evils might arise if a little excess of authority were given to them. While the mischiefs resulting from negligence might be easily remedied, those springing from abuse of power would be impossible to control, and it is fearful to think of them. On all these points your ministers have most maturely deliberated, and they now state their views, &c., &c."

No. VII.—MEMORIAL BY TSAO TANG YUNG, A CENSOR OF THE HOO YUNANG PROVINCES.

7th Month, 28th day (13th September).

"Your minister, Tsao Yung, kneeling, presents a Memorial. The barbarians being on the advance, and the plans with respect to peace having been found difficult of accomplishment, he urgently entreats your Majesty to return to your capital, and so to yield compliance with men's wishes, to maintain the dignity of the throne, and to pacify the spirits of your ancestors and the tutelary divinities. Since the stealthy entry of the rebellious barbarians into Tien-Tsin district, although the Imperial councils have been shrouded in secresy and not known to the

public, yet all kinds of confused rumours have been everywhere producing great disturbance. Lately it appeared that Sankolinsin had retired to Yang-Tsien, and then to Tsas-Tsun, and again that he was deprived of his commission. After that, that his Majesty had appointed Yunci Chang and Hang Foo, Imperial Commissioners, to settle affairs. Subsequently expresses at the rate of 600 *le* incessantly arrived. One report was that peace at any price was determined on. Another, that 20,000,000 taels were promised, of which the payment in ready money of 2,000,000 was a matter undecided. Another, that several tens of thousands Mongol soldiers had been ordered down, and that war was determined on. Another, that your Majesty's design of carrying on the war was opposed by some persons. The confusion and alarm are indescribable. But there has been nothing so strange as the report now heard, that your Majesty intended making a tour to Jehol. This has caused the utmost consternation, but your minister does not believe in it, still, as many officials have repeatedly prayed your Majesty to return to your palace, without obtaining a favourable reply, an undefinable fear cannot be resisted. If, indeed, the report is true, the effect produced will be like a convulsion of nature, and the mischief must be irreparable.

"In what light does your Majesty regard your people? In what light the shrines of your ancestors, or the altars of the tutelary gods? Will you cast away the inheritance of your ancestors like a damaged

shoe? What would history say of your Majesty for a thousand years to come? It has never been known that a sovereign should choose a time of danger and distress to make a hunting tour, supposing that thereby he would prevent trouble. If the capital should be disturbed, your Majesty is besought to return without delay to your palace, in order that the people's minds may be reassured. The capital is most strictly guarded. The spirit of all the inhabitants is raised to the highest pitch, and even women and children are determined to fight to the last. Above all, Sankolinsin is now at the head of several tens of thousands of Mongol troops, who have brought their supplies with them, and who take nothing from the Imperial treasury. Their fidelity and valour are completely proved. If on the first approach of the rebellious barbarians Takoo and Petang had been equally defended, and the barbarian vessels attacked as they advanced, they would have been unable to ascend the shallow and narrow creeks. It was those, be they who they might, who directed the pacific policy, who embarrassed our plans and caused their failure, leading to the occupation of Tien-Tsin, and who are the persons responsible for this.

"In the time of the southern Tung dynasty, when the people of Kin raised disturbances, Yo Yei recommended war, and Tsinhung opposed him, and was the cause of national calamities. If now there are some like Tsinhung near your Majesty's person, it would be befitting that the law should overtake

their crimes. Your Majesty might make a public confession of your own error, and thus fortify the national resolution. Moreover, the supreme control of the war might be placed in the hands of Sankolinsin. When Te-tseing, of the Taing dynasty, made a public confession of error, the mutinous soldiery of Shan Tung were converted to obedience and subordination. The enrolment of volunteers in the Tien-Tsin district is a step to be recommended. They were found serviceable in the incursion of the Cantonese banditti in 1853, and also when the rebellious barbarians invaded Tien-Tsin last year.

"Your Majesty is prayed to command that they may be employed as auxiliaries to Sankolinsin's regular forces. The barbarians do not exceed a few thousands in number, and a considerable portion of their force consists of hired traitorous Chinese, gain being the motive which chiefly actuates this heterogeneous mob. If money were judiciously employed, and an appeal made to the patriotism of the mercenaries, the whole of this body might be dispersed without recourse to arms. Your ministers cannot imagine why this has not been attempted. Should any object to such an expenditure, one need not refer to the 20,000,000 proposed to be spent in carrying out the pacific measures, but only ask that the 2,000,000 ready-money should be so used. When once the pacific policy should be accomplished fresh demands would be made every year, for which the barbarian rebels would always

find a pretext. When Swochow and Hang Chow fell this year, several millions of Government money went to swell the rebels' booty, and of private property, the amount sacrificed was incalculable. Your Majesty is prayed to command that the money required be issued from the privy purse, to be refunded as may be found expedient after the restoration of peace. If the outside barbarians are to be duly controlled, it is certain that peace must not be accorded before they have been defeated in battle. His late Imperial Majesty, in his last testament, speaks with shame and contrition of the peace with the barbarians. May your Majesty take this to heart."

[The Memorialist here digresses into a personal narrative to excuse his addressing the Emperor without proper authority.]

POSTSCRIPT.

"While your minister's Memorial was being written he reverently read the vermillion edict of this day, as follows:—'Considering that the approach of the barbarians and the various circumstances of the present crisis demands from us a course of action calculated to fortify the resolution of our people, we have directed that the arrangements for our proposed hunting tour shall serve as preparations for our taking the field in person against the enemy. Let the (Huns Tsin Wang) the Emperor's uncle give orders for the proper distribution of the garrison of Pekin. If the enemy is met between Tungchow and Matow we

shall proceed, as originally intended, to the northward of the capital, and take up a position with a strong force. The spirit of our army leaves us no reason to fear that the handful of barbarians, not amounting to 10,000, shall not be completely destroyed. Let this decree be read by the princes and other officers of state.' From the above it appears that your Majesty's northern tour is positively decided upon. Does our Emperor then think nothing of his people, of the temples of his ancestors, and of the altars of the tutelary gods? If he really means to command in person, why does he speak of proceeding to the northward to take up a post with a strong force? Such language will not meet with any faith on the part of the people. But the grand army under Sankolinsin is quite sufficient to conclude the war with success; and why, therefore, should your Majesty expose yourself to the fatigues and dangers of a campaign? The gravity of the crisis does not allow of much speech. Your minister only entreats that you will consent to the advice and desire of all, and return to your Court to superintend the affairs of Government, and regretting doubtful counsels, &c., &c."

I have given these documents at length, partly on account of the ability with which the various points put forward are argued by the Imperial Ministers; and in part because they give us the real light in

which our policy was viewed by the existing ministry; we see in them also a high tone of independence, which could hardly have been expected from men whose life depended upon one stroke of the "vermillion pencil."

Not having had an opportunity of comparing my copy with the original documents, I am not certain as to some of the names. But I must now describe the burning of the palace.

My duties did not permit me to be present on the first day when this work of destruction was begun; the troops were spread over the country by one and two companies, and fired every building in four palatial "gardens," as they are called, beginning with the Ewen-ming-Ewen; next, and to the west, the Whan-shaw-Ewen; then the Chin-ming-Ewen; and last, the Heang-shaw, which mean respectively the "enclosed and beautiful garden," "the birthday garden," "the golden and brilliant garden," and the "fragrant hills."

On the second day I arrived at about eight o'clock in the morning, at the Ewen-ming-Ewen, and started with Fane's and Probyn's Horse, three guns, and the Queen's, to the farthest of these places, the Heang-shaw. We marched through scenery of the most enchanting beauty, planted hills, lakes, temples, with villages interspersed, which were the abodes of the Imperial troops; many a matchlock was to be seen in their houses, but they thought only of conciliating us by "chin-chining," "kow-

towing," and offerings of hot tea and cold water. I never experienced more mingled feelings than upon this occasion. As I rode along through scenes which (if anything can compensate for the absence of those "looks that we love," as Moore calls them) it was worth while coming all the way from home to see; I could not help giving to them all the admiration of my heart which their beauty demanded. A tribute so due that you must perforce pay it.

I turned the corner of a high wall round which the paved road led, and before me was a dense mass of smoke, and the fierce blaze of the raging fire towering above it, and far above the trees. A temple, which means not one building, but a whole cluster of separate edifices, circling round one great shrine, was in flames, and communicating destruction to the noble trees, in and around it, which had shed their grateful shade over it for many a generation: its gilded beams and porcelain roof of many colours, in which of course the Imperial yellow claimed the superiority—all, all, a prey to the devouring element. You could not but feel that although devoid of sympathy for its deity, there was a sacrilege in devoting to destruction structures which had been reared many, many hundred years ago; nor was it the buildings only, adorning as they did the scenery, which claimed your sympathy, but every building was a repository of ancient and curious art, enamels made before the present dynasty of China, books to no end, engravings of all sorts of scenes, historical,

illustrating the wars of the Chinese and Tartars, some the production of purely native talent, and others by Jesuit missionaries, and drawn in the Chinese style. These missionaries are generally learned in something else besides religion, and thus they beat ours out of the field altogether. Embroidered hangings of enormous value, altar furniture plated with gold, things, which, apart altogether from their value, were full of interest from their beauty and rarity, all devoted to destruction; some few were saved by officers, but as carriage was difficult, but few.

The most remote point that we made that day, and which bounds the Imperial gardens here, was a residence, with its temple and dependencies among the hills. It was about eight or perhaps nine miles from the Ewen-ming-Ewen. It lay embosomed in a richly planted hollow on the side of the hill; close by was a strong work like one of those martello towers which you see on our coast, only of much larger dimensions, while a large village, a barrack of Tartar troops, was about half-a-mile distant. You entered a walled enclosure by five or six gates placed at short intervals; the wall was just like one of our deer-park walls at home, built of stone and mortar, and it reminded me of more than one home scene, as I traced it up the hill-side in the distance.

First came a court-yard with buildings as usual on three sides, then terraces succeeding each other, and ascended by easy flights of steps, and shaded,

all deeply shaded, by luxuriant timber, grateful even now, for the sun is hot to-day; down the hill, by the side of the steps, flows a cool stream received in successive basins, how delicious is this "living" water. As you ascend, you arrive at buildings once the abode of the fair ones who graced the Imperial court; open that box, or rather look into it, for it has been opened already, there are their dresses, there are the "pyjamahs," the petticoat richly embroidered, and not like those at home an unbroken circle, but opening at each side to the waist, and put in "full," I declare, into the waistband; it ties with strings; put it on; there you are, it touches the ground nearly on you, and you are five feet ten. These Tartary princesses must be tall; no doubt they are. The men are fine, tall fellows, and their mothers cannot be dwarfs; there is the cloak, too—take them all, they will be burned in half-an-hour if you don't; this is a case of "salvage," not plunder.

More gadestone, more books, carpets, pictures, enamels, everything you can imagine. There are the Sikhs, carrying off any amount of thick cloth and carpet for warm sheeting for their horses, for the nights are cold now. What campaigners those fellows are, fit to go anywhere; and when led by such men as Probyn and Fane, fit to do anything.

The troops are halted here for about an hour, and the various corps receive their orders from Sir. J. Michel as to where they are to carry on the work of destruction. Looking up from the entrance of the

park, the groups of buildings which were scattered through the thickly wooded hollow in the hill-side extended for about a mile and a half up the hill, and reached about half-a-mile right and left of the entrance; soon after the order was given, you saw a wreath of smoke curling up through the trees that shaded a vast temple of great antiquity, which was near the centre of the park, and roofed with yellow tiles that glistened in the sun, moulded as they were in every grotesque form that only a Chinese imagination could conceive; in a few minutes other wreaths of smoke arose from half-a-hundred different places, each like the smoke from some gamekeeper's cottage, hidden in the woods on a hill side in some park at home.

Soon the wreath becomes a volume, a great black mass, out burst a hundred flames, the smoke obscures the sun, and temple, palace, buildings and all, hallowed by age, if age can hallow, and by beauty, if it can make sacred, are swept to destruction, with all their contents, monuments of imperial taste and luxury. A pang of sorrow seizes upon you, you cannot help it, no eye will ever again gaze upon those buildings which have been doubtless the admiration of ages, records of by-gone skill and taste, of which the world contains not the like. You have seen them once and for ever, they are dead and gone, man cannot reproduce them. You turn away from the sight; but before you arises the vision of a sad, solemn, slow procession. Mark that most touching

sight, the dashing charger led, not ridden; the saddle is empty, the boot is in the stirrup, but it is empty also; the limb that filled it forms now a part of the skeleton that lies in the coffin on that gun-carriage. You saw that sight two days ago, you see a vision of it now; you turn back and gaze with satisfaction on the ruin from which you had hidden your face, and say, "Yes, thank God, we can make them feel something of the measure of their guilt;" and if there were another building left to burn, you would carry the brand to it yourself.

Fane, with a troop or two of his sowars, takes a circuit on our return, and fires some outlying buildings which had escaped on the march out, and on our return to the Ewen-ming-Ewen we find that the 60th Rifles and Punjaubs had made the best use of their time and burned far and wide, and all that now remained was the Hall of Audience already described, and the lodges and buildings between that and the grand entrance; they were spared to the last, as in them the troops had been quartered. It is three o'clock, and we have to march back to Pekin; the order is given, fire soon found, and a few smart riflemen soon set the Audience Hall in a blaze; its pomp and state, and it was a noble chamber, are going fast before the devouring flame; the roof must soon go in, it has been alight some time, you feel the heat a hundred yards off; there down it goes, with a terrific crash. Now for the gate and the lodges, don't leave one, no, not one—not a vestige remains of the

palace of palaces, the Ewen-ming-Ewen. Now back again to Pekin, a good work has been done.

Yes, a good work, I repeat it, though I write it with regret, with sorrow; stern and dire was the need that a blow should be struck which should be felt at the very heart's core of the Government of China, and it was done. It was a sacrifice of all that was most ancient and most beautiful, but it was offered to the manes of the true, the honest, and the valiant, and it was not too costly, oh no! one of such lives was worth it all. It is gone, but I do not know how to tear myself from it. I love to linger over the recollection and to picture it to myself, but I cannot make you see it. A man must be a poet, a painter, an historian, a virtuoso, a Chinese scholar, and I don't know how many other things besides, to give you even an idea of it, and I am not an approach to any one of them. But whenever I think of beauty and taste, of skill and antiquity, while I live, I shall see before my mind's eye some scene from those grounds, those palaces, and ever regret the stern but just necessity which laid them in ashes.

I do not believe that the present dynasty will ever survive the shock which it has received from our advance on Pekin; I look upon its days as numbered, and I believe that a new and much brighter era is about to open upon that vast and glorious country under some new rule. Those whom we now call "the rebels" being then in the ascendant, they have, while I now write, but a few months

after the events described, beaten by themselves the armies of Sankolinsin, already thrice beaten by us; and the ambassador, Mr. Bruce, who is now at Pekin, may yet, in a short space of time, have to renew or alter with them (not to circumscribe) the treaty just concluded with the powers that now exist; and I would hope that the future rulers of that vast empire may learn a lesson from this expedition and its events, which will teach them for ever to respect the name of England, and of all that she represents in the world, of truth, of honour, and of justice, without having the bitter reflection, which ever must remain did the present dynasty endure, that it was taught to them in their own persons.*

And though I am not one of those who call the Tae-pings Christians, yet I am sure that their religion is intended by them for Christianity, and that there is a good deal that is Christian about it, and I believe that they detest images, which is a good thing, and that they circulate the sacred Scriptures, and profess their anxiety to learn the way of God more perfectly; and I feel convinced that should they gain the ascendancy in China, there will be such an opening for the spread of Christianity as there has not been on earth since the days of Constantine. Let England be ready for the day when it

* Since the above was written the Emperor has died, Prince Kung has become Regent, and our neutrality has been broken by our conflict with the rebels at Shanghai; all which circumstances much alter the prospects of the dynasty.

comes, France will be, and she has a good footing in the country already. America has done ten times as much in China as we have; one of the first people who came to Tien-Tsin was an American missionary, Mr. Blodgett, a gentleman who appears to be very well suited for the work which he has chosen, and it is no easy task,—a missionary here does not sleep upon a bed of roses. But England ought to have both men and means to do at least as much as other countries. Gladly would I know that, if need be, resources were diverted from that country which (like its own sands) has drunk up so much of our missionary labour, and like them has yielded so little—India; and that they were made to flow into this channel, where I feel certain that the return would be infinitely greater.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Auction—Discovery of the Treasury—Prize Money—Incidents of the Auction—Scarcity of Money—Anting Gate—London and Pekin—The Walls of Pekin—Butchers' Shops—"Chow-Chow" Shops—Coal-yards—Curiosity of People—Importance of John Chinaman—Description of Town—Tartar Town—Furs and Skins—Shops—Bargaining—John Bull—Puzzling John Chinaman—The Temple of the Earth—The Temple of Heaven.

BEFORE we entered Pekin it was dull enough sitting down before that great wall and looking at the outside of it: but we had some amusement at the auction, where all the articles taken from the palace were sold for the benefit of all the troops which had advanced on Pekin; two-thirds to be given to the men, and one to the officers. To this fund was added, by Sir H. Grant, a quantity of gold and silver, found in the palace three or four days after it had been in the hands of the French. It is a very curious circumstance, that a strong room with an iron door, in the very centre of the building, close to the imperial apartments, should have escaped the notice of our gallant and clever allies for three or four days. We were but visitors there for an hour or two in the day, but our allies held the place, and it seems little short of a miracle that a thing so obvious should have re-

mained so long undiscovered, but most unaccountable things do sometimes happen. Great was the excitement when it became known that the treasury had at length been discovered. The French put a guard over it, whose instructions appear to have been to admit French officers, not English. A message was sent to Sir H. Grant, informing him of the fact that treasure had been found. Major Anson was despatched to act on our part, and carts, with an escort of Probyn's Horse, sent to bring in our share. But a portion, however, could be sent that night, and Anson was obliged to mount guard all night, revolver in hand, and it was a work of no small danger; an attempt was even made to fire the place, anything to get up a row, and then for a scramble.

This treasure, which of right belonged to the Crown, Sir H. Grant undertook to divert to the fund for prize-money for the troops, and at the same time, with his usual generosity, he gave up all share in the matter himself, an example which was followed by both the Generals of Division. Their sense of the kindness of their general officers and of the Commander-in-Chief was expressed by the army in a suitable present made to each of them.

Every officer who had visited the palace had brought away something with him as a memento of the place, and had probably not forgotten the "old folks at home," as everyone would expect a trophy of some sort or another. These things were all called in by the Commander-in-Chief, and ordered to

be sold by auction, the proceeds to be distributed in prize-money. Two non-commissioned officers were selected as auctioneers; the prize agents, Major Anson, Colonel Walker, Major Wilmot, and Captain Lumsden, in a few days arranged everything; a few articles were returned to each officer at a valuation, if he chose to take them, and everything else was ticketed for sale.

There was the usual amount of amusement that an auction affords when everyone knows everyone else; it went off very merrily, and though the things appeared to sell for very high prices, still they did not reach anything like the value they would bear in Europe. Ten, twenty, or thirty pounds for a piece of gadestone, a bowl, or a cup, perhaps, was nothing extraordinary; enamels, too, were in request, and as one gallant officer was understood to have an unlimited commission from Baron Rothschild, you may suppose that there was a good deal of competition, and fur dresses were sold from ten pounds up to fifty. The rolls of silk which had been taken from the store-rooms were assorted in lots, an imperial yellow or a silk of more than ordinary value was placed in each, and I know I paid twenty pounds for one lot because there was a piece of white crape in it. But there was a satisfaction in knowing that the money which you paid was not lost to you altogether, the soldiers got two-thirds of it, and the remainder went to swell your own prize fund, which after all did not amount to much, a field-officer got altogether about

fifty pounds, and other ranks in proportion, but then it was made doubly valuable by being paid down on the spot. Some received the shoes of silver taken from the treasury, weight for weight, instead of dollars; while others had some hundreds of dollars to pay, having swallowed up prize-money and all the rest by sporting bidding for "curios" at the sale.

The said "almighty dollar" was "almighty scarce," it was all very well to say that you had so many months' pay, the question was, how were you to get it? The military chest had not been brought up, and there was no money to be had. At length some dollars arrived at the commissariat from Tien-Tsin, and we got a driblet of what was due to us, and of course rushed frantically into Pekin, for the city was now open, and spent it all in curios and in furs. I am sure that you must be anxious for a ride through Pekin; I was very much so before I had been there. So come along. Let us order the horses; bring your revolver, it is always safer to do so; a stick is a good thing to have, or the Chinese policeman's baton, a long-lashed whip, and if you muster a party of five or six so much the better, for we have heard a great deal from time immemorial of the jealousy which the inhabitants feel as to the entrance of strangers into their town.

We enter, of course, by the Anting Gate, in our own possession; this gate is double and well capable of defence; inside the first gate there is a quadrangular space about one hundred and fifty yards

square; to the left is the second gate, which faces a main street leading through the Tartar city; we turn sharp to the right as we pass the second gate to ascend the wall, and ride up it by a steep paved incline. A vast prospect of town stretches out before us, but the number of trees scattered through all the buildings make it more like the "*rus in urbe*" than anything I have seen before. As you face the city with your back to the ditch and suburb, the first thing which strikes you is a wooded hill about a mile and a half distant on your right front; this stands in the grounds of the Imperial Palace within the "Forbidden city," occupied alone by the Imperial family, the ladies of the court, and their attendants; of this I can tell you nothing, for I was never there, and although Prince Kung undertook to permit a select few to visit part of it, they never got beyond the walls. To the left you see the roof of the Confucian Temple, how picturesque these tiled roofs are with the overhanging eaves, and graceful curves, not like our angular affairs at home; no one could look from a height over the roofs of the houses in London, and say that it was picturesque. Not but that I much prefer London to Pekin, but I quite agree with Ruskin that our modern domestic architecture requires great improvement. In the courtyards of the houses, trees are planted, a weeping ash or two, or a large elm-like timber tree, and these overshadowing the roofs of the houses, and partially concealing them, add much to the appearance of the city. The wall

on which we stand, what an immense work it is, but how useless against the weapons of modern warfare; it would crumble into powder before our guns, while earthworks would remain comparatively intact. But against such weapons as the rebels can bring to bear upon Pekin it is an excellent defence, and for my part I do not see how the rebels can enter the city, unless, as it is believed in China now, they have confederates in every city in the empire, and that it only needs that the standard should be raised and the gates will fly open.

We all remember learning, as little boys and girls, that the wall of the city was sixty feet high, and broad enough at the top for ever so many coaches-and-six to drive upon it abreast, and so it is. I thought at that time that it must be a wonderful place, and I formed at once the notion that the favourite amusement of the inhabitants was to drive their coaches-and-six all abreast round the walls; for what, I argued, would be the use of having a wall upon which this could be done, and not doing it? I did not then know that I should have an opportunity of judging for myself, and correcting in more mature age the notions of childhood; but although I know now that they do not drive round the walls, I cannot help seeing the coaches-and-six still, and a very gay sight it is, much prettier than the real view. From the gate a wide street leads us through the heart of the Tartar city, other streets equally wide crossing it at right angles; the houses,

all one-storied, are not in what we should call good order; they are shops, with open fronts, or with windows of close lattice, covered with thin white paper in the inside. The shops are of all sorts nearly; butchers, where you see, as at home, meat hanging in carcases, chiefly mutton and pork, and in joints also cut up much in the same way, and I noticed those two or three graceful cuts which our butcher at home makes in the skin of the side of the sheep just behind the shoulder, where the skin has a sort of red appearance, and made, I suppose, to display the whiteness of the fat underneath. How did this come to pass that the London and Pekin butchers should hit upon the same touch of their art? Any person who can answer this question can also tell, I presume, how the porcelain seals, which are clearly Chinese, came to be found in the bogs of Ireland.

Then there are the "Chow-chow" shops, where meat-pies are made and dressed, and very good no doubt they are, although, not being of an enterprising disposition, I never tried them, but they are very cleanly made; the meat is there before you, boned and chopped up on a block, or rather minced, ditto vegetables, and the paste cleanly rolled, a small portion of each laid on a round piece of paste, and then the pie closed by pinching up the sides of the paste into a button at the top, and the whole then either fried in oil, baked or boiled, to suit any taste. Next you have a wheelwright;

he is putting a new pair of wheels on a cart. There is no aristocratic conveyance in Pekin, no coach-and-six, or coach at all. His next neighbour sells candlesticks of pewter and of brass, which he makes himself, or rather his workmen do; they are turned in a lathe which never makes a complete revolution, but two half-ones, backwards and forwards, and is worked by both feet. Then there is a large yard and a coal-store. The coal is broken small; it is hard, heavy, and anthracite, and the dust is wetted and made up into round balls as large as a goose egg; this with charcoal is the national fuel, and is burned in small earthen stoves; wood is not much used, and millet stalks serve for cooking purposes. Then you have a cap-shop, where you can get a China head-dress, from that of a red-button mandarin down. Then there comes a druggist's shop, with all sorts of native drugs and medicines, many of them the same as our own; you can buy as much camphor as you can carry for half-a-dollar in this shop. And listen, there is a smith at work, and he has got just the same tone in his craft that the smith has at home; there are two of them playing away with their hammers upon a piece of iron, one of them stops an instant and yet continues to mark time with his hammer by a mild stroke on the anvil until he is wanted again, just the same sound it has as in the village smithy in England.

The streets are full of people, men, boys, and women, but no very young ones; these are generally

kept shut up in China, even in ordinary times. The people are curious, but not rude, the boys sometimes, as all boys will, laugh at the foreigner, but the men take no great notice of you; if they don't get out of the way, which they are not very ready to do, the consequence simply is that your horse's shoulder shoves them out of it, and, perhaps, a tap from your riding-cane warns them to look out next time. This is necessary everywhere in China, because their own mandarins travel about in chairs, with a large retinue of servants, carrying all sorts of umbrellas, poles, weapons of gilded wood, and gongs, so that the street is cleared at once for the Mandarins, while John Bull, who is sixteen times as great and as good a fellow, walks along the street without a soul to proclaim his grandeur.

John Chinaman cannot see that John Bull is a great man when he has no retinue with him, so he never moves out of his way, jostles against him with his unsavoury person, and naturally John Chinaman gets the worst of it. But the best way is to carry a stout stick and raise the point to the level of John Chinaman's face, take resolute possession of the right hand side of the road, and point your stick "slantendicularly" about a foot clear of your left arm; then if the passer-by will not look out, he gets a poke in the jaw, or somewhere thereabouts, by walking against the point of your stick.

About a mile and a half of this street is quite straight; then you turn to the left for a few hun-

dred yards, and then to the right and straight on again for another mile. If you want to go to the British Embassy, turn down that wide street to your left, and you arrive at it in half-a-mile. But we go right on, as we are going to the Chinese town, and turn to the right at the end of that other mile. Here the street is broad indeed, three or four times as wide as Regent-street; there are no shops here; on the right is the wall of some of the outer grounds of the palace, and on the left the wall of the grounds of a temple; we ride on to a bridge over a dry nullah, turn up along it to the left, then to the right, which brings us past the Russian Embassy, and so on, with one turn more to the left, we arrive in about four and a half miles at the gate of the old Chinese town: look out that you are not inside it after nightfall, for the gate is then shut and out you cannot get. A party of our officers were trapped thus, and were obliged to spend the greater part of the night in the street, or rather in the shops, for the people were very civil to them, before they could get the gate opened at about three in the morning.

The gate and wall is similar to that of the Tartar town, nor are you struck with much difference either in the people or the town. Here is a little covered in bazaar or arcade, where the best sets of chopsticks and the best "chutmucks," or strikelights, are to be had, steel, flints, and tinder, all excellent; everyone buys them as a memento of "Pekin."

On we ride and turn up a wide street to the left,

one of the chief streets of the city. Here too are all sorts of shops, but you find more silk, tea, and ready-made clothes shops than you see in the Tartar town. Furs too are to be had here, especially up a little street to the right there are several good shops, where you may buy a sable or sea-otter, or as the Chinaman calls them, "Deowpie" and "Ghoulung," up to 150*l*., if you choose to spend so much. Ermines too are to be had, but you must buy the skins not made up into coats, else you will get no tails; the tail, which is half the battle at home, is flung away by the Chinese; there are dyed furs too, and tiger-skins, and the white unborn lamb, which is very pretty, and a great favourite with the natives and worn by the Mandarins, and the grey unborn lamb (or as some people insist that it is the unborn camel); this is a very beautiful skin, a silvery grey, of the most minute and crisp curl. I am, however, informed by the natives that it is the skin of the lamb of a peculiar breed of sheep, which are found only in one remote district in the mountains of Tartary. It is one of the most valued furs in China.

This street divides public attention with "Curiosity" street, as we have called it,a narrow lane, which turns off from the broad street to the right, and here you will find everybody, from the Commander-in-Chief down to the junior ensign, investing in curios; enamels, bronzes, and gadestone form the chief attraction. Each shop consists of two or three apartments, running back from the street, the third

separated from the rest by a small courtyard, and here the best things are to be found; the least valuable being invariably placed next the street in the most conspicuous place, and the best things of all invariably hidden away in some quiet drawer, or, perhaps, in the box upon which you are sitting, which, as it has a cushion on it, you take to be only a stool. If the owner cannot persuade you to buy anything in the outer shop, every article in which he asserts to be "houdie," or tall, sticking up his thumb at the same time; he takes you into another apartment, and then a third, where everything you see is "ting gowgowdie," or exceedingly tall, and up goes the thumb again. In a few days he learns from us the Canton phrase, "number one," or, as he calls it, "lumbila onede." He seeks to propitiate you by showing you a book of most disgusting pictures, which you probably shy at his head, whereat he laughs. He, or rather they, for there are from three to eight men in a shop, according to its size, watch your eye as it travels over their shelves or tables, and instantly detect you if you appear to notice any particular object; and if you are the least impetuous, up goes the price to double or quadruple what they have asked some one else half-an-hour before, who was either really careless or more on his guard than you have been, and did not permit the cunning dealer to discover that he was the least anxious to buy.

Making the sign of a dollar, which is done by

bringing the top of your forefinger and thumb together, and forming a circle, you point to a gade-stone vase or a set of enamels, two candlesticks, an incense-burner, and a pair of vases for holding what we call "joss-sticks;" he is sharp enough to know that you want to know the price, a few days later, and he will say "combieno," or "my much," as he conceives you to be a Frenchman or an Englishman; here he stands before you with both hands open, and all the fingers spread out before your face and fronting you; then he repeats the same gesture, turning this time the backs of his hands; there is twenty dollars, and so he goes on until he has arrived at the numbers of tens which he demands, and then he generally ends with a three or seven, or some such number, to show you the accuracy with which he has priced the article.

There are two ways of dealing with him now: you are quite aware that he has asked you a great deal more than the selling price, although he points out to you, hanging up in a conspicuous place, that there is "no second price;" you may therefore, if you choose, begin by offering him about one-fourth, and so go on advancing until you arrive at what you mean to give him; then the proper thing for you to do is to make a gesture with your right hand, as if you were drawing a tooth from your own mouth with considerable pain; this means in China that you are now offering the last farthing, and that it

is like losing a tooth that you should give so much; then make your final bid on your hands in the same manner as he has asked you his price.

This is what he expects you to do. But John Bull has often a different way of dealing, he makes up his mind at once what he will give, offers it, and there is an end of the matter. If you do this you will get nothing until you are leaving the shop, and then he calls you back, and the bargain is made; or, perhaps, you are allowed to go away, and when he finds that on the next day you make no advance, or the next after that, he will give you the article, unless some richer, or greater fool than you are, has offered him more in the meantime.

His cupidity, however, sometimes makes him overshoot the mark; on comparing notes with Jones you discover that he has bought something just the same, for a less price than you have offered, in another shop. You return and find your friend the curio man in a more pliant mood; he has come down in price, and is fearfully disgusted when you offer him ten or twenty dollars less than you were willing to give yesterday; he does not know what to do, so if you want to puzzle him completely and drive him half frantic, put your cheek down on your hand and shut your eyes, that means to-morrow, and then offer him ten dollars less than you are ready to give to-day. This will often alarm him, and he puts the article into your hand. If you are not provided with a bag of dollars he will send a man with you

out of the town to your own quarters for the money; he is not the least afraid of you.

Thus were our leisure hours passed while before the town, riding about the streets and visiting the most interesting parts of it, and spending all the dollars that we could get in the various shops. But indeed the city is soon seen, nor are you long in making the discovery that every street is exactly like its brother, and that after having come 15,000 or 16,000 miles you are sadly disappointed in the place; however you will be able to say that you "have seen Pekin." It looks better from the wall than anywhere else.

An exception must be made as to some of the temples, which are really very interesting. The Temple of the Earth is outside the city, and at present occupied by the Royals and Desborough's Battery, while its corelative, the Temple of Heaven, is inside the wall of the Chinese town. Turn to your right, as you come down "Curiosity" street, and ride on for about a mile, and you arrive at a large quadrangular space nearly a mile square; through this, in a direct line, a paved or rather flagged road is carried, and leads on to a gate of the city. On your left a wall of about twenty-five feet high bounds this open space, that is the wall of the grounds of the Temple of Heaven; halfway down is the entrance gate, you ride in and feel almost as if you were in an English park; those mighty elms through which you ride, planted down each side the road, look very home-like.

Now for a gallop on the grass; away we go, like men who have not seen a bit of grass like this for an age, and we make for the great and many-coloured dome, which rises above the dark-green palm trees that surround it. A stretch of about a mile brings us there, and, riding up a long flight of easy steps, we reach a large marble-flagged platform standing nearly as high as the tops of some of the trees, and some hundred yards across. On the left another flight of marble steps brings you to the entrance of that vast dome-shaped building; the tiles of the roof of yellow porcelain, and the eaves painted in most brilliant colours, give it a gorgeous appearance, but the wood-work is decaying, and grass grows on the steps and terrace, and it has altogether a dilapidated and neglected air. On the opposite side another flight of steps leads you through a door. Inside this place it is clear that victims are sacrificed. There is an altar, and a place something like a small lime-kiln, where it appears that the victim is burned, and there are meat-safes of large dimensions; but I leave it to those who have had opportunities of studying the subject, which were not vouchsafed to me, to explain these sacred mysteries, at which the Emperor assists in person every year, and to which these two vast Temples of Heaven and Earth are devoted. We rode on to other terraces and other buildings within this vast park, and left the place, after a long ride, without having ascertained its extent.

CHAPTER XV.

Signing of the Convention—Treaty of Tien-Tsin—Severity the best Policy—Wintering the Army—The Difficulty solved—The French retire from Pekin—Lamah Temple—The Troops march for Palechow—Peiho River—Lady Grant—Head-Quarter Staff—Efficiency of the Staff—Garrison at Tien-Tsin—Severity of the Winter—Conveyance of Mails most defective—Regularity of French Mails.

THE signing of the Convention took place on Wednesday, the 24th of October. There was a large guard of honour, as some rumours had been spread that treachery was intended by the Chinese; the procession marched through a great part of the Tartar town to reach the Hall of Ceremonies, a not very splendid building; Prince Kung was punctual, and received Lord Elgin, with a sort of sulky dignity, and between the examination of documents, &c., &c., a great deal of time was spent, all very necessary no doubt, but wearisome to those who looked on; nor were you repaid by the sight of Prince Kung, with his horde of Mandarins and followers, some of them of very questionable cleanliness.

It is as yet too soon to form an opinion as to how the treaty of Tien-Tsin will work: its success will

however, I believe, depend upon the firm front presented by our minister at the court of China. Consideration for the feelings of others is a very laudable thing, but if those feelings are put forward as a blind behind which to make a covert assault upon our rights, then they must be disregarded. Now I do not conceive that the feelings of the Chinese Government or nation are peculiarly sensitive. Pride and quiet swagger they have enough of; the self-assertion of that lie that "all the world pays tribute to the Government of China" speaks for itself, and if we are to back all this up, and not offend their pride by asserting ourselves, then the sooner we give up the trade the better, or else prepare to spend more millions on another expedition.

When the British army was in force before the city no dog dared to wag his tongue against the least of her Majesty's servants, those were the days in which the palace was burned; if we would hold any relations with China, we must treat her as if we had an army before the gates of her capital, else she will forget the fact that we were ever there, nor believe that we can ever go there again. Pride and self-assertion in the Asiatic must be met in a correponding manner; and if from a mistaken gentleness you yield to him one inch, he attributes it to fear and impotence upon your part, and by further encroachment at length reproduces hostilities, and you are obliged again to master him or else to leave him alone. Most sincerely do I trust that after the lives

that have been sacrificed, and the money that has been lavished upon this expedition, the treaty may, to a certain extent, repay the British nation; but all will depend upon the attitude assumed by us at first.

The question as to where the army should winter was much debated before the signing of the convention, both in a military and political point of view; and while it was maintained upon the one hand that everything that was requisite for the army could be procured in abundance in Pekin, others thought that unless a winter's supply of stores could be brought up from Tien-Tsin before the river was shut up (as all our supplies came now by boat to Tungchow), it would be hazardous in the extreme to winter the army at Pekin ; and that it would be much easier to advance again in the spring if necessary, than to provide for all contingencies of a winter occupation. The commissariat chief, Mr. Turner, declared that it would be impossible to bring up the stores which would be required in the short time that now remained, so the more prudent counsel was adopted of a return to Tien-Tsin.

Opinion was divided also as to the political advisability of a winter's occupation. On the one hand it seemed that our residence at the capital would exhibit our power to do as we pleased in China, and would familiarize the people with the sight of the foreigners; while on the other it was argued, that if we remained there, we should prevent the return of

the Emperor, embarrass the existing Government to a very great extent, and possibly take the last prop from under the reigning dynasty, and so encumber ourselves with fresh and intricate negotiations. Happily the agreement of the Government to our moderate demands solved the difficulty.

Lord Elgin, however, determined to reside for the remainder of his stay inside the city, and a residence having been provided for him, he took up his abode there on Saturday, 27th of October, and remained there until Friday, the 9th of November, when he left for Tungchow to proceed by boat to Tien-Tsin. Nothing could be more tranquil than the town; one or two companies of infantry formed Lord Elgin's guard, and he rode through the town, as did every one else, unattended and unmolested.

The French convention having been signed in similar form to ours, they began to move away their forces to Tien-Tsin, and we in consequence consolidated our force by moving up from the first position which we had occupied near the Bund, and the whole British force now occupied the suburb outside the Anting Gate, with the exception of the cavalry, who were quartered in the Great Lamah Temple, whose extensive grounds bounded upon the side opposite, to the city wall, the great parade ground already described. Numerous buildings were contained within this enclosure, which was about a mile long by half-a-mile deep, shrines or temples, surrounded by squares of buildings where the priests

resided; some of these temples had an upper story, and in many of them were figures of that disgusting character which stamps heathen worship everywhere. The grounds were planted with noble trees, which, while they stood thick enough to form a shade almost perfect over the walks, lawns, and buildings, were nevertheless permitted space and light sufficient so that each could grow to its natural size; the true secret of successful planting, which one does not always see carried out at home. Here the French ambassador had taken up his quarters; also a Punjaubee guard had been placed over some of the buildings, as they were supposed to contain some silver and enamels.

The great feature of the Temple was the monument to the Lamah of Thibet, which was without exception the grandest and most beautiful marble structure I have ever seen. It stands upon a platform of white marble, of great purity, which is ascended by flights of steps. The monument is of the same stone, some forty feet in height, and of perfect proportion; it is covered with rich sculpture of animals and imaginary Chinese monsters, and is surmounted by a gilded capital, which towers over the surrounding trees, and is seen as a land-mark for some miles round.

The weather was now cold and often dreary; there was nothing more to be seen or done, and we were all anxious for Mr. Bruce's arrival, which was to be the signal for our departure. On Monday the 5th of November he came, having ridden up, without



OFFICERS: FANE'S HORSE.

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a halt, from Tien-Tsin. He was introduced to Prince Kung, who appears to have lost some of his reserve. Visits were exchanged, and all went on as well as it could be wished; so that on Wednesday, the 7th of November, part of the troops marched for Palechow on their way to Tien-Tsin, and the remainder on Friday, with the Commander-in-Chief. On the same day Lord Elgin left Pėkin for Tungchow, where a little fleet of boats was engaged to carry the Embassy to Tien-Tsin.

Oh, happy! thrice happy! they who were permitted to proceed home at once, in the sea-traversing ships. With what pangs of envy and uncharitableness did we, to whom a winter in Tien-Tsin was decreed, regard the happy homeward bound. Again the banks of the Peiho river are all bustle and life. There are M'Kenzie, and Ross, and Wolseley, and Williams, all at work in turns, landing stores or embarking troops; it is touch and go whether the last of them will get down the river; it is freezing hard, but no pains are spared to carry out the Commander-in-Chief's views.

The Hong Kong coolies and Indian followers feel the cold very much, the latter especially; they are all supplied with warm clothing; but no, they sell it, or fold it up in a bundle, will not put it on, and shiver in their cotton rags—so much for the perverse native of India. The Chinese coolie will put on sixteen coats all at once if he can get them.

The King's Dragoon Guards and Probyn's Horse

had a very trying march of it, in frost and snow, to the Takoo Forts, where they were safely embarked, without accident. Nor was it until everyone else had left that Sir Hope Grant took his departure, on Thursday, the 29th of November, thus proving that he was not forgetful of those duties which devolve upon a general after a campaign, which Lord Clyde calls "the dirty work of an army."

Lady Grant had come up from Hong Kong to meet the Commander-in-Chief at Tien-Tsin; and, while he was directing the movements of the army in the North, her Ladyship was, like a truly good soldier's wife, looking after the comfort of the sick, the women, and the soldiers' children at Hong Kong. Nor did the heat of the climate prevent her from going about herself, and visiting those to whom she could render any service, considering at once, as every Christian should, both the bodily and spiritual good of those by whom she was surrounded. She was thus a most useful aid to the Rev. W. R. Beach, the Military Chaplain at Hong Kong.

The Head-quarter Staff left Tien-Tsin the day before the Commander-in-Chief to proceed, some to Hong Kong, *en route* for England, some to Shanghai and Japan; and the majority of them carried with them the best wishes of the army. Most of the staff were young men, junior to those whom you generally see in similar positions; and a more able or effective staff I believe it would be difficult to pick from the British army. And if it is individually a hardship

that juniors should be placed in staff appointments, which seniors in the army might ask for in vain, it is, on the other hand, for the benefit of the service that young men should serve in such positions if their talents and acquirements render them capable of filling those posts: because such officers will then have acquired in their youth that experience which is usually the lot only of age, and thus be doubly capable of rendering good service upon a future occasion, should their country require them to act again in a similar capacity.

At all events, there was no one in the force in China who did not think that Sir H. Grant had made an excellent selection in the officers who had served under him in India; and the manner in which their various duties were performed proved to all who had opportunity of observation that he had chosen well. There are men on the list that, if an opportunity of distinguishing themselves offers at a future day, will add largely, I doubt not, to the laurels which they have already earned in the two great struggles in which England has been engaged within the last seven years; and there are one or two from whom those who know them look for great things when their time comes.

And now the troops that were left to garrison Tien-Tsin set to work in earnest to make themselves snug for the winter, which had set in with great severity in the last days of November. Captain Gordon, R.E., an active and clever officer in com-

mand of his company of sappers, employed a large number of Chinese workmen in altering and adapting the Chinese houses, which had been taken at a rent, to the wants of the British soldier. Soldiers' barracks first was the order of the day, nothing to be done for the officers until the soldiers are made comfortable, and an excellent arrangement it was. The 67th, Desborough's and Govan's batteries, the 31st, 2nd Battalion 60th Rifles, with a company of Royal Engineers, 1st Battalion Military Train, and Fane's Horse, were selected to form the garrison, under the command of Brigadier Staveley, C.B., who had commanded all along at Tien-Tsin. Fane's Horse and the Royal Engineers were quartered in the eastern suburb of the town, the Military Train just inside the east gate on the right, the 2nd 60th in East Street, right and left, Royal Artillery beyond them in the same street, 31st in West Street and South Street, and the 67th in the north-eastern suburb. With the exception of the Military Train, Royal Engineers, and Royal Artillery, each corps was quartered in five or six separate, and sometimes rather distant, buildings, so that the men suffered, as well as the officers from the distances which they were obliged to go in the severe weather, but this could not well be avoided.

Tien-Tsin is a large and important town on the right bank of the Peiho; the walled town is about a mile square, but the suburb has grown into a much larger and more important town than the original,

owing, no doubt to the increased and increasing trade of the place, as all imports to the capital from the south must find their way through Tien-Tsin, either as formerly, by the grand canal, which strikes the river above the town, or, as at present, along the coast from the Yangtsekiang, and up the river from Takoo. Between suburb and town it stretches along the river's bank on both sides for a distance of about six miles.

Tien-Tsin is a great salt depôt, and from the salt pans at the Peiho mouth all the interior of the north of China is said to be supplied.

The river is crossed by two bridges of boats, and our allies occupy the left bank, while we hold the right; their force consist of some of the 101st and 102nd Regiments, and some artillery, commanded at first by General Colleneau, but as he unfortunately fell a victim to small-pox, which was very prevalent during the winter in both armies, he was succeeded by General O'Malley.

At the end of November the winter set in with great severity; the river was closed up completely, and in a few days the sea was frozen for several miles beyond the bar, so as to prevent all communication between the fleet and the garrison at the south Takoo Fort, which consisted of a wing of the 31st. Some officers of that regiment were very nearly lost in a junk, in a gallant attempt to land the mail, which was lying off in a gunboat, unable to come in on account of the drift ice. And here I must say

that the English arrangements as to the conveyance of mails was most defective throughout the whole winter; six mails were due at one time. I am not prepared to saddle any one department with the blame, as I have yet to learn with whom the arrangement rests, but I should suppose that it was the duty of the Adjutant-General to arrange with the Admiral for the landing of the mail at some practicable place, and that then it rested either with the local military authorities, or with the Ambassador to have it promptly conveyed to its destination. Who was to blame I know not; whether no arrangement had been made with the naval authorities, or whether the navy had failed in carrying them out when made. That there was nothing impossible in the matter is proved by the regularity with which the French mails were sent from Chefoo; and it is a sorry conclusion to be reduced to, that we are unable to meet a contingency which our gallant allies can easily provide for; that an army of 3500 Englishmen 16,000 miles from home should be left for three months without communication either with Europe or the Commander-in-Chief, while a much smaller force of Frenchmen receive their mails at the same place, is a fact which, until it is accounted for, is a disgrace to us, and is alike a grievance to all the officers and men of the force, and detrimental to the public service.

CHAPTER XVI.

Sledges — Horse Marines — Game — Rations — Anecdotes—The Sick—The Hospital—Home Memories—The Morals of the Army—The private Soldier—Confectioners—The Auction—Cramping the Feet —Chinese Ladies — Beggars — Charity of British Troops—The Irishman and the Coolies—Pointed Arguments—"Engilishe" and "Flenishe"—"Poko Beno"—A Jeweller—Horses and Races —Paper Hunts—Reading Room—"Samsho"—Occupation and Amusement—Tartar General.

THE river was frozen with a vengeance, and a busy scene it presented. John Chinaman no longer needed his bridges of boats; Tien-Tsin, or "the Heavenly Ferry," as the name means, now was frozen together, and everyone who wished to cross the river walked across. The natives use small sledges about six feet long by four wide, which travel upon two runners shod with iron. They are capable of carrying two people, seated, and a third who propels the sledge from behind, standing up, with a stout spiked pole passed out behind him between his legs. This is the conveyance of the country at this time of year, and the British soldier tries his hand at it also; there he is working away just as hard as if he was paid for it, whereas he gives the native a string of cash for the hire of the "conveniency;" he gives a vigorous push or two, loses his balance, the sledge goes from under him,

and down he comes on his back; never mind, he is up and at it again.

Some long-sighted individual brought a pair of skates to the North, and they were soon the fruitful parents of a numerous offspring; John Chinaman got them as a "muster" or pattern, and he made skates just as good; so did a wheeler in the Royal Artillery, and there are a large party of officers starting down the river on sledges to the skating-ground, where the ice is smoothest some two or three miles down the river. Three miles further down the 'Slaney' gun-boat lies, housed in for the winter; she got aground just as the river closed, and Jack Tar has had to spend the winter nearly high and dry, but he does not care much; the deck of the gun-boat is one long larder, whole sheep, a side of beef, ten or twenty brace of pheasants, thirty or forty brace of pintail grouse, lots of wild ducks, hares innumerable, and a deer or two, are always to be seen there; Jack has no need to eat much salt junk now; much good may it do him, for he is a fine fellow. The officers of the gun-boat have become regular horse-marines, every man has his nag or two, and they turn out quite the correct thing in long jack-boots and leather-strapped overalls. Jack also takes to riding; now that he cannot ride the billows, he mounts a donkey, and an attendant crowd of these animals is always in waiting, where for a few cash he can indulge in that exciting pastime, with a Chinaman as running-groom.

Of meat and game there is a superabundant supply at Tien-Tsin; the mutton is excellent, at from two dollars to two dollars and a half per sheep, and this is no doubt far above its real value; beef at a similar price, and pork for those who are adventurous enough to eat it, but knowing the habits of the animal and his mode of life in North China, I question whether I would not nearly as soon eat a piece of his dirty master as of him.

Hares abound all round the town, and many a good gallop they gave us; we have no dogs except latterly a few Chinese greyhounds, but we ride them to view with our "bonâ-fide's," (you don't know what a "bonâ-fide" is yet, but you shall hear,) and the natives take them in such numbers in the country that they are sold for almost anything that you like to offer; the market is overstocked with them; how they can catch so many I could not discover, as I can hardly believe that the hawk, hound, and gun, could provide such a supply. They do hawk them, and very fine falcons they have, and these bother the hare until the dog takes them, and they shoot them also, as you find the shot in them; but Leadenhall Market cannot boast such a supply as "Charing Cross" market, Tien-Tsin.

Then, as to pheasants, eight for a dollar is the price. Ah! but they would taste much better at home at two dollars for a brace. I assure you they would, I have tried both. The pintail grouse are a very pretty bird, of a sort of drab and black

plumage, with a pointed tail, feathered legs and feet, the toes scarcely separated at all, and the soles quite hard; these, too, are taken in vast numbers, and in a curious manner, which we had opportunities of observing. In the plain which surrounds Tien-Tsin for miles, I don't know how many, but as far as you can see, the crafty native sets his long net in the flight of these birds, which are going south every hour of the day. He baits it with a row of blocks of ice, some thirty feet long, and connecting his net with the string which he holds in his hand, conceals himself at a convenient distance; the birds supposing (I presume) the ice to be water, of which they are in search, alight, and are thus easily taken; they are very good to eat, and worth about two or three pence each.

Then there is the rice bird or ortolan, very small, and of exquisite flavour; he is as plentiful as need be, sold in bunches of ten or a dozen ready plucked, and is cheap in proportion. The men shared in all these good things to their hearts' content. I remember seeing a young soldier of the 60th Rifles one afternoon carrying a piece of excellent mutton, some three or four pounds in weight, and asking him if that was ration meat, for that it seemed very good. "No, sir," said he, "this is not ration meat, I bought this myself; this is for my supper." But I again asked, "How is it that you can eat all that along with your rations?" "Why, sir," he replied, "the fact is, we don't eat our rations, we've

got a little dainty like, and our rations is made out of them old cows as used to be carrying our baggage all through the campaign, and we finds 'em a little tough and rather strong like now, so the Chinese eats them and we eats this."

True enough it was that our soldiers were very charitable to the Chinese poor; whenever rations were given out or anything in the shape of eating going on among our people, the Chinese pauper got his share. This became quite an institution, so much so that the sentries at the commissariat stores had a hard game to play sometimes. I remember upon one occasion a soldier was brought up for stabbing a Chinaman in the leg with his bayonet He was a Scotchman, and he had been sentry the day before at some place where rations were being given out; he was asked how he came to wound the Chinaman? His explanation was this:—

"Why you see, sir, this Chinaman was wanting to press past me up to the stores, so I told him to 'woilo,' and he would'nt woilo, so then I told him to woilo again, and I woiloed him that time; but as soon as I turned my back to walk sentry again, he slips up behind me, and I seed him over my shoulder, so I turned round and woiloed him the *se*cond time, and I thought I had woiloed him then; but round he turns again as I turns my back, and he wouldn't woilo this time; so I brings my bayonet to the charge, and then he woilos on to the bayonet with his leg; that's all I know about it, sir." A

Chinaman is quite like the hungry Greek, "in cœlum jusseris ibit."

"Well, Bill," said one soldier on the main-guard to another as I was passing by, through the east gate, "have you got a good dinner for us to-day?" "No, that I havn't, lad," was the reply; "there ain't nothing but some hare-soup and two or three pheasants; and what's the use of that?" There never was an army so well fed as this army has been; and the exhausting effect of the climate in Northern China, both in summer and in winter, requires it. In summer you are sweated down to almost nothing, and in winter what is left of you is dried up with cold which freezes the marrow of your bones; and if your food fails, or (what comes to the same thing) your digestive organs become seriously wrong, it is rare that a recovery is made.

All the sick and invalids had been sent away from Tien-Tsin before the river was closed, and had been put on board the hospital-ships, but it was surprising how soon the general hospital filled again. We imagined that the bracing cold would be the very thing for us all, and set us up again, after the relaxing heat of summer; but experience taught us another lesson. Any weak part was seized upon by the cold, and it was only the man who had no such point about him that kept his health unimpaired. Diarrhœa, dysentery, chest complaints, and fever were the prevalent diseases; and throughout the greatest part of the winter we had ten per

cent. of the force in hospital, and I was informed, upon the best authority, that the month of January at Tien-Tsin was more fatal to the troops than the worst month in autumn had been at Hong Kong.

Nothing, however, could be better than the hospital and its arrangements, commenced by Dr. Muir, and afterwards carried out by Dr. Gordon, who followed him as principal medical officer. A large yah-moon was taken in the eastern suburb, and four or five and twenty wards were fitted up in a very comfortable manner, containing from six to twelve beds each; and as experience pointed out some defect, it was promptly and effectually remedied. Medical comforts had been supplied from home with a most liberal hand. Milk, which could not be procured in the country, was freely used in the hospital; beer, port-wine, and champagne were always at hand when needed by the sick; and it will be a satisfactory thought to those at home to know that if they have had a large bill to pay for this war, the sick, at all events, have been well and liberally provided for. To the relatives of those who have been doomed to leave their bones in a foreign land, it will be a happy thought that nothing which skill or liberal kindness could do to rally a sinking frame, or soothe the last moments by gratifying every little want, was left undone. And this was not unfelt by the patients themselves, as I have often heard words to this effect, "God bless the Queen; she didn't forget us

this time anyway." Or, "Boys, this isn't like the Crim*eh*, where you'd lie may be a whole day, and never get more nor a dhrink of the black water" (*black* standing for plain, unmingled).

Newspapers had been sent out also by every mail for the use of the sick, and most acceptable and valuable they were. No one can tell the avidity with which they were sought after, except those who witnessed it; but by some fault or mismanagement in the purveyor's department at Hong Kong, they were not forwarded to the North after the month of November, and their want was much felt. Officers, however, contributed from their small libraries, and I supplied some books that were at my disposal, and thus a certain amount of reading was found for the men.

As the spring opened, and the weather grew warm, the convalescents were sent out to drive in spring-waggons; and if there was a race-meeting going on, or soldiers' games, you were sure to see these poor fellows looking on; and right pleasant it was to see a face wasted, wan, and worn by months of constant suffering, flush with the little excitement, after the dreary monotony of the sick ward.

Little do civilians know how many tender feelings are concealed under the breast of a soldier's tunic; how much gentleness and goodness of heart are covered by that off-hand and sometimes rough manner. But see one poor fellow, weak and ill himself, watching by the bed of a comrade, more heavily

afflicted; see how tenderly he smooths the pillow, raises the aching head with almost a woman's care, bears with all the querulous complaints that are made against him while he is doing his best, and forgets his own ailments in his anxiety to ease the sufferings of another, and assumes a cheerfulness, which he is far from feeling, in order to try and make his comrade think the less of his own woes; and if next day Jack is a little better, Bill's barometer rises at once in proportion, and, before you have time to inquire, he anticipates you with the good news, "Oh! he's a deal better to-day, sir; he slept some last night, and he ate a 'hegg' this morning; he'll come round again soon now."

Or, if chancing to ask some question which relates to home, or recalls the hamlet from which the band and gay colours and the wily old recruiting sergeant tempted the youth, who has now become almost an old soldier, often have I seen a tear start unbidden into the eye and trickle down the sunburnt, furrowed cheek. And I have felt that whatever a soldier's life may have done to harden and dull the finer, softer feelings of our nature, it has also its discipline for good, and that there is many and many a one who has been improved by it, even if some should have found their road to ruin in that path, who would have found it under any circumstances, only perhaps not quite so fast.

I am persuaded that great misapprehensions prevail at home in civil life with respect to the tone of

feelings and of morals both among officers and men in the army. Paterfamilias thinks that the officers of the 250th, quartered in the town, are a set of rare wild young dogs, and that if "Tom" should come to know them it would be a great misfortune, for he might be asked to dine at mess (Tom is such a pleasant, gentlemanly fellow), and then he would probably be induced to play high, and would be sure to come home "screwed" at the very least. The dear old gentleman does not know that to be "screwed" is considered a disgrace in the army now-a-days; and that if an officer gave way to such habits he would be forced at least to exchange or sell, and would most probably lose his commission; and that high play is put down with determination both by commanding officers and generals.

Sixpenny or shilling whist will not injure dear Tom's pocket or morals much, and that is what he is most likely to be invited to. No, my dear sir, your son is much more likely to meet with bad company, and contract bad habits in a small coterie in civil life, or in his club, where there is no supervision exercised by seniors, no "esprit de corps," no public character, which all feel must be supported, and which the senior officers are determined to uphold.

Yes, but Mrs. Grundy is convinced; she never dined at a mess, Heaven forbid! (I think the mess would say so too, she is not likely to get a chance.) How could you ask such a question? Because, my

dear lady, I have met some of the most elegant women in the world at dinner at a regimental mess, ladies whose acquaintance you would be rather proud of than otherwise. She is convinced that a conversation at a mess table is something very shocking, not of course when ladies might happen to be there upon some rare occasion, but as a rule very bad, low, and full of cursing and swearing.

You are quite mistaken, my dear madam; it is true indeed that Ensign Snooks has brought some bad habits with him from the Depôt Battalion, where he has been without restraint, mingling with other boys fresh from school; his bad language he picked up most probably at Doctor Meek's select academy, "for the reception of a limited number," &c., &c., where his anxious mother sent him, for he *would* go into the army, and the Depôt Battalion has not improved him (I wish there were no such things as Depôt Battalions); but wait for a year or two, and you will be astonished to find how much Snooks is improved, his regiment will "lick him into shape;" he is not a very promising subject, but he will learn to show his manhood in some other way than by the use of bad language, and he will discover that conversation which is not fit for ears polite is not considered good taste at a mess table. There are black sheep everywhere, but if one of this colour finds his way into a regiment, he is more quickly discovered, and made to change his tone, than he would be anywhere else; or failing that,

he is safe to be put into coventry or something very like it, and "got rid of" as soon as possible.

Military men live more in public than other men do, and thus the faults of the few are sometimes attributed to the many, but the habits of sixty years ago are no more preserved in the army of the present day, than they are in private life. Major Rattler, of the 41st Light Dragoons, that exceedingly fast corps, is a much better conducted man than your grandfather the banker was, my dear Mrs. Grundy, and he would no more tolerate at his mess the scenes which used to occur nightly at your grandfather's table than that most sober of mortals, your own Grundy, would tolerate them now.

Then as to the private soldier and the non-commissioned officers, it is only by good conduct that the private can be advanced; he knows this, and he knows that he is sure of "a rise" if he deserves it. Here then is at once a strong motive for steadiness and propriety, which you do not meet with in private life. Who can ensure promotion to the journeyman bootmaker if he is sober and well conducted? and the same steps which raised the private by degrees to be, perhaps, Serjeant-Major of his regiment, can alone preserve for him his rank, with its emoluments and immunities. There is a direct help to virtue in the army, "sentence against an evil work" is executed with much greater speed and certainty there than among civilians. Compare the petty tradesmen of a large town, or the younger labourers in a country

village, as to their moral conduct, why the soldier cannot do what the other may do, and very often does, every week of his life.

"Why were my boots not sent home yesterday?" Your bootmaker tells you that this is only Tuesday morning, and but very few of his workmen have come back as yet to their work, having, as is usual, been drinking since Saturday night. A soldier cannot live that sort of life, even if he would. Recollect too in every judgment that you form of soldiers, that they are generally taken from the least orderly walks of life; and that it is for the most part the wildest and most adventurous spirits who find a charm in the idea of a soldier's life; recollect too that they are, while subject to many wholesome restraints, without many of those gentler and better influences which their brothers in civil life, may enjoy, long after they, poor fellows! have nothing but the rules of the service to guide them.

The main streets of the town of Tien-Tsin are occupied by the usual amount of shops chiefly for the sale of "chowchow," that is, food of various sorts. Butchers and cookshops abound; then there are fruiterers, these are very nice shops, the various winter fruits of the country, including apples, pears, lichees, and walnuts, chesnuts, ground-nuts, and fifty other sorts, the names of which I never learned, are neatly ranged on shelves and on the ground in clean baskets, and for a few "cash" (900 of which you get for a dollar) you may purchase more than you

can eat. The sweetmeat shops too are very tempting, sugared walnuts are capital, and a new sixpence will buy you about five-and-twenty sponge cakes, very nearly, if not quite, as good as you get at home, though sometimes a little "stodgy." What a country for the youth of England, if it only possessed other advantages in like proportion! "Pocket-money" would be a perfect fortune. But the best confectioner is in the north-eastern suburb, near Charing Cross, he has picked up a great deal of English and French, and is a most popular character; "walk in, sit down, have some tea, have a sponge cake," thus he salutes you as you enter the shop, and he can talk to you upon most of the ordinary subjects of the day, not in the "pigeon English" of Canton and Hong Kong, but with a correct diction; this has all been learned since our occupation.

The four main streets of the walled town running north, south, east, and west, are devoted to shops, and public buildings. A few temples unworthy of notice, except perhaps the "Temple of Horrors," in West-street, in which the various tortures which are supposed to be awarded to persons guilty of various crimes, in the next world, are represented by figures made of clay and painted. They are not at all complimentary to the softer sex, as much the greater number of sufferers are females, and the tortures are too horrible to describe. The dwelling-houses are in streets which branch off from these, and you pass between high walls, meeting every twenty or fifty

yards with a door, which is kept most religiously closed, as the domestic habits of the natives are very exclusive; they do not seem to place much reliance upon the virtue of the female sex, and will give you as an explanation of the custom of cramping their feet, that it prevents them from straying far from home; they do not adopt the poet's advice:—

> "Let all her ways be unconfined,
> And put your padlock on her mind."

The ordinary story which you hear about their small feet is, that the wife of one of the Emperors was discovered by her lord near the door of the apartment of one of the ministers of state, and when questioned as to how she came there she replied, "That her large feet had carried her there against her will;" whereupon half of each foot was ordered to be cut off, and she, in order to cover her own disgrace, "introduced the fashion," which has prevailed ever since. It is, I think, the most barbarous of all customs in the world, and destroys that which is perhaps the chief beauty of woman, the grace and poetry of her motion. These wretched beings hobble and stump along like 5000 lame ducks boiled down into one, which, if they were as many Venuses in every other respect, would disenchant them at once. They have their toes, except the great one, turned *down*, so that they walk upon the heel and the upper part of the foot, from the instep to the toe; how any nation could expect the blessing of Heaven while it thus

destroys one of the most beautiful of his works, I cannot understand.

I am wandering far from Tien-Tsin; but while upon the subject of Chinese ladies, I may say that I have seen some very good-looking faces among them. I do not think they would be at all an ugly race if they were educated and were allowed the use of their limbs; but there is an expression of vacancy and cunning, the result of their position in society, which spoils their prettiest faces. And then, when you see the creature, you know it cannot walk, and that its legs are like a goat's, and there is an end of it.

Shut up within these walls they live; nor do their lords give them much of their society; they never dine together after the wedding-day; the women live apart from the men of the family, and there is nothing of that sweet social family intercourse which is the chief delight of home. The ladies spend their time chiefly in playing cards and smoking tobacco; nor is it the delicate cigarette in which they indulge, but the pipe,—yes, the same as the man's pipe, a small brass or silver bowl, a long, thin stem, and a gadestone mouth-piece or else an onyx one.

Whenever you go in the town you meet a number of beggars, and that of all sorts,—lame, blind, and diseased in every possible way; and the great majority of them are no doubt professionals. The rich people in the town have some charitable institutions in which the poor are provided with bread,

clothing, and *coffins*, but still there appears to be a mass of unrelieved distress. The officers and soldiers of the garrison collected the sum of 150*l.* at Christmas for the poor of the town, and announced that it was given in honour of that festival. The Chief Magistrate promised, through the Consul, that he would recommend the most deserving objects of charity, and a day was fixed for the distribution of the money at the church; but on the previous day he announced that he could not undertake the recommendation of paupers, as his house would be beset by an unruly crowd, and suggested that the funds should be handed over to the existing Chinese charities. This, however, the committee determined not to do, as they had no faith in the honesty of the managers. They were, therefore, driven to distribute their fund (to which Admiral Hope had liberally added 50*l.* unsolicited) on their own responsibility, and they posted a placard inviting pauper women of fifty years of age, and the blind of both sexes, to present themselves at the church (a Confucian temple) on a given day, when, notwithstanding a strong guard of soldiers and of Chinese police, some unfortunate women, who could not stand on their wretched "small feet," were absolutely trampled to death by the crowd.

The charity of the British troops, however, so far from decreasing the number of paupers in the town, appeared only to augment them, and everywhere you were beset by the cries of "Chowchowah,

cashah, sheliung sheliung, chowchowah" (food, food, money, cold, cold, food); but you had the satisfaction of seeing that many of these supplicants were in very good case.

The coolies are a most industrious race, and work hard, as porters and water-carriers, through the summer's sun and the winter's cold. I have often seen them panting, and almost staggering along, under a wheel-barrow which would carry almost a horse-load, and perspiring freely on a cold winter's day, though stripped to the waist. These wheel-barrows are of an excellent make. They are like an Irish jaunting-car, with one large wheel in the centre, and the load is placed at the sides, and by this means the weight of the burden is thrown upon the wheel; a boy, or sometimes a donkey, assists, in tracing, in front. All the water used in the town is carried from the river thus, and in pairs of buckets hanging from a bamboo across the shoulder. All merchandise, including fuel, is carried in the same way. So that the industrious coolie population has an abundance of employment.

Talking of coolies, I had an increasing source of amusement during the campaign in the conversations between an Irish soldier and the Hong Kong coolies, two of which were supposed to be in my employ. He and the two coolies lived a good deal together, and in general their quarters were quite near enough to me to enable me to hear the discourse of Paddy. He appeared to think that

the employment of those words so common in the south, "you savey," was a sort of talisman wherewith to reach the Chinese mind, and formed a perfect running commentary (in Chinese) upon the (otherwise obscure) English text, so that if his discourse was plentifully interlarded with "you savey" no Chinaman, however dull, could miss of his meaning.

Imagine him and the two ugliest coolies in the army (and none of them are handsome) seated at the midday meal, a dish of meat and a dish of sweet potatoes or yams on the table (or its substitute) before them, Paddy (*loquitur*): "Do you call thim potaties" (contemptuously); "you never was in a place called Ireland, you savey, becase, if I had you there, I'd show you what potaties is, you savey. Sure the people has to live on potaties in Ireland—that's where I come from, this piecey man, you savey;—but sure no one could live on the likes of them, you savey. It's all very well for you now, you savey, becase you get mate every day for your dinner, you savey, number one chowchow, you savey, that's becase you're at war now, you savey, with the Emperor of China, this piecey country, you savey, and the innimy has to feed you, you savey, but if you were at pace, and livin' quiet and aisy at home in your little bit of a cabin in Ireland, you savey, do you think you'd get mate for your dinner then every day? Oh, divel a bit, you savey."

So the faithful Paddy would discourse his coolies for hours, eliciting an occasional grunt, not that they

understood one word he said, but just as well pleased with his audience and himself as Dr. Cumming at Exeter Hall. They were generally the best of friends, and they were of more use to him as recipients for his ideas than in any other way. Sometimes, indeed, the coolies turned sulky, and when desired to do some work, instead of doing it growled out, "My no, sabey," which was a sort of refusal under the pretence of not understanding the order. This he would not stand. "You no, savey, don't you; well, then, do you know what I'll do, I'll *make* you, savey, and then when I *make* you, savey, you'll *have* to savey then." He has, since the peace, been reduced to one Tien-Tsin coolie, who he affirms "knows a great deal of English." "Sure you might hear me talkin' to him every day." Which is quite true I do, and many a good laugh it gives me, when I am not much disposed to laugh.

The best shops are to be found in "High Street," as we have named it, which runs nearly parallel with the river in the northern suburb. Here was the fashionable lounge for the exiles of Tien-Tsin in the afternoon; and here several of the Pekin curiosity-dealers established themselves, having tasted the sweets of the Barbarian dollar in the autumn. The street is narrow, and an awning is spread across the greater part of it. You can always tell when there is any foreigner in the shop by the crowd of basket-boys that surround the door, ready to carry home anything which he may purchase.

You must expect to be well jostled if you don t take means to prevent it, as the Chinese here have no idea of making way for anybody. Their own great people never walk, and their chairs are preceded by runners to clear the way, so that the street population have not yet thoroughly imbibed the idea that "a swell" can walk at all, although we tried all winter to drive it into their heads, and that with very pointed arguments. It is necessary to carry a stick; and so to carry it, that if a Chinaman chooses deliberately to walk against *you*, he also walks his own face against *your cane*, and however much his self-sufficiency might be gratified by the former, he would hardly like the latter—a very pleasant thing, no doubt, for the Celestial to feel that he has asserted his superiority over the Barbarian in a quiet manner, by not making way for him, but not an unmingled pleasure when he acquires along with it a poke in the head; *he* will not jostle you again; and thus you have the satisfaction of feeling that you have taught one disciple of Confucius a lesson which he never learned before, and have contributed your mite to impress upon the Asiatic mind the fact that, when the European requires it, he must, as the negro melodist so poetically remarks, "get out of the way."

I know that this is treason in certain quarters, and that the *correct* thing is always to make way for the Chinaman, and never to allow him to walk against your stick, but always to leave your stick at

home; but I confess that I am not enough enlightened as to "our Chinese policy" to appreciate the idea that we are first to pay millions for the privilege of establishing the fact that we are nationally superior to the Chinese, and capable of enforcing our just demands, and then to do our utmost to wipe out this impression by "kowtowing" individually to every Chinaman we meet in the street.

In the curiosity-shops much the same scene is enacted as at Pekin; but a decided preference is given to the "Engilishe" over the "Flenishe." The Chinaman is not yet quite sure which is one and which is t'other, so he asks you "Engilishe?" if you affirm, he immediately says "Gow-gow," and holds up his thumb, "Engilishe ting gow-gowdie;" if you say "Flenishe," he says "ah," and proceeds to business. His experience, no doubt, is that John Bull has more dollars, and parts with them more freely, and perhaps, also, there is a little gentle force used by the Gaul in making his bargain, which we never use.

The shopkeepers are civility itself, and the best feeling prevails upon both sides, we being quite conscious that we are *done*, yet contented so that we get what we want, and pass a dull hour or two in spending our money.

On the right, as you go down High Street, lives old "Poco Beno," as we call him, from his frequent use of the words, which signify in his language that your offer for his goods is not sufficient. He deals in furs. You cannot pass his door any day, if you

are a customer, without going in. You are saluted by him, his son, and his grandson with such a flow of "chin-chins" that you must go in, if only for politeness. Tea is produced, and you offer him a cheroot, which he tries to smoke, but it is too many for him. He is a very handsome old man, with a nose almost aquiline, a rare feature in China. You do not perhaps want furs, but out of idleness ask the price of one or two, and are answered in the usual way upon the fingers, unless you have "studied the language," and know the numerals. He asks 150 dollars, and you offer him 10 by way of a beginning; he almost goes into a fit as he throws himself back and calls out "Poko Beno, Poko Bin." You look unconcerned; and before you leave the shop, having drank your tea, and advanced a few dollars at a time, you draw a tooth, and offer him 20 or 25 dollars, never believing for a moment that he will take it, when, just as you are stepping into the street, he calls out that your offer is accepted, and you walk home, and boast of your bargain, which you did not in the least want.

Numbers of gadestones and enamels found their way from the Ewen-ming-Ewen down to Tien-Tsin, and were exposed for sale in the shops; at first the vendors strenuously denied that these articles had come from the palace, but they soon found that we were not to be deceived, and made no further secret of the matter, and only laughed when we told them that they would have their heads cut off if these things

were found with them, as a proclamation had been issued from Pekin, threatening with death any person who exposed imperial property for sale. This threat, however, had no effect, as, although when we first came down from the capital the natives would kow-tow to a piece of imperial silk which a Sikh carried in the street, and hustle you and it out of the house if you brought it in, after a time they appeared to become familiar with the idea, yet still they would sell such an article for less than its value, and appear rather glad to get rid of it.

Fur shops and curiosity shops were the rage for the winter, but as spring came on every one appeared to have bought as much as he could bring home, or as much as he wanted, and a fresh excitement was required; so some one found out a jeweller, and gold rings were made from patterns, by men who never made a ring before. Then a simple massive chain appears, and everyone goes in for those, only the gold is so pure that they are too soft; never mind. Then gold charms of all sorts, English and Chinese, silver cigar cases and snuff-boxes, cups, stick mountings, everything in short that could be made of gold or silver, until the native mind was almost bewildered with the multiplicity of articles it was called upon to conceive and execute. You had ordered your two cigar boxes and a gold chain fully a fortnight ago; you had called about them every day, and had been told in so many days to call again; at last it came down to "mingtein" (to-morrow); you arrive, having

nearly burst your pockets with the dollars to pay for them, when, with a rueful face, the jeweller tells you that they have all "woilahd," and by signs as to some peculiarity of dress or manner, he makes you understand who it is that has taken them; and you discover that your bosom friend, finding them finished in the drawer that morning, has taken them and paid for them. You go and remonstrate, but he only laughs at you, and tells you that he will value them the more for your sake, and adds insult to injury by reminding you that you will have all the summer to get others, whereas he (lucky dog, how you hate him!) is going home by the next mail, and if he had not got them must have gone without. I think I should know almost any officer of the Tien-Tsin garrison by a glance at his watch-chain.

But the great excitement, of course, here, as everywhere else, was horses and the races. Imagine how insane the ensigns must have become when each of them could purchase and keep his stud of two or three horses without anything extra in the way of expenditure. Yes, imagine, oh ye less fortunate ones! buying Arab horses fresh from India for 12*s.* 6*d.* each, or about eight pounds the dozen; fancy living in a land where that could be done, and where you could keep him for about 2*s.* 6*d.* per week on good hay and corn. But you want to hear this explained. You must know then, that when the King's Dragoon Guards, and Probyn's Horse, and several batteries of Artillery were ordered back to India, it was not

deemed worth while to ship any but the very best of their horses, and thus a large number of very good horses were placed at the disposal of the commissariat.

Besides these, just at the conclusion of the war, several ships arrived at Takoo with remounts from Bombay, which would have been most necessary if we were to have another campaign, but, as it turned out, were not wanted. It would not pay to send them back again, so they must be sold at any sacrifice. The sale included a large number of ponies and mules which the commissariat had taken in the country on our march to Pekin; in fact, every animal that we had in China was sold that could possibly be spared from the service, and a great day it was for the subalterns. Despite of cold and sleet, there they were buying their studs day after day, and if to-day's purchase could not "go in good form," or "was not likely to do the trick," or "turned out a bad fencer," he was put up again to-morrow, and a Chinaman bought him perhaps for three dollars instead of four, his original price, and Tomkings got a another; he lost a dollar to be sure, but *4s. 6d.* was not much to lose in a horse, when you have made up your mind that he does not suit you.

Then when the studs were complete, and no more "bonâ fides" to be sold (as these horses were called, from having been "bonâ fide" bought at the Government sale to distinguish them from chargers brought from India or elsewhere), the getting into condition

and the training gave great occupation to the subaltern's mind; there was vast comparing of notes, and trials, strictly private, and talk about dark horses, and all sorts of stable-talk—then a match or two, and a Tien-Tsin autumn meeting somewhere about Christmas.

A fine, healthy, manly amusement for the young officers, and very properly patronized by the brigadier and the senior officers in garrison.

Paper hunts were also a great resource, and there was a good deal of fencing, as although the country is not enclosed, there are numerous graveyards which extend for miles round the town, and these are generally fenced, so that a good sporting "fox" could show some sport. Tartar ponies, if they had any speed (and some of them were very fast), were excellent for this work.

But in spring there was some real fox-hunting. There were plenty of foxes, but the difficulty was to get the hounds; we were deluded with vain promises of beagles from Shanghai all the winter, and at last Mr. Lloyd, an enterprising young officer of the 67th, procured some Chinese hounds, something like the Persian greyhound, or a cross between a greyhound and a Scotch colley. They ran both by sight and scent, and often pulled down the "wily one;" they ran hares also, and in a place where there was no society, and nothing to do beyond the dull routine of garrison-duty, such sports were of great value; nor were the amusements of the men neglected. One of

the first things done was to tell off a room in each barrack as a reading-room for the soldiers, which was comfortably furnished, warmed, and lighted, and crowded with men in the winter evenings, drinking a fabulous amount of coffee, and smoking no end of pipes over their games (no gambling permitted), books, and newspapers.

Then there was the garrison theatre in a central place, 'The Grotto' in East Street. What employment there was in getting it up, and painting the scenery! Fane, who is nearly as good an artist as he is a soldier, painted the drop-scene, a lady reclining on a couch in an old "Baronial Hall;" she was asleep, her book had fallen from her hand; how much you would like to give a cough, which would waken her; introduce yourself and have a chat; but she is sleeping there still for aught I know. Then the Royal Artillery had a theatre of their own, very creditably got up, and the scenery painted very well by Sir John Campbell and a bandsman of the 31st, who has a most extraordinary talent for painting, and who will, I hope, when he goes home, turn altogether into a painter.

We had some plays written for the Tien-Tsin stage, and amongst them 'The Irish Othello.' The words from Shakespeare, the music (for it was an opera) from Christy's Minstrels. Othello was a colonel in the Tipperary Militia; Cassio, his adjutant; and Desdemona, the daughter of a Cork wine-merchant. Scene laid at Cork and the Cur-

ragh camp. Every one admitted that it was very clever, but some people thought that Desdemona really transgressed the bounds of propriety, and actually had been guilty, as Othello poetically accused her :—

> "It is because, it is because
> She's broke a most important clause
> In British matrimonial laws.
> Whoop de dooden do.
>
> She now must pay for her faux pas.
> Whoop de dooden do."

While others affirmed that she was innocent, and took the lady's part very warmly, calling poor Colonel Othello a jealous brute, &c., &c. No doubt, too, it was wrong, very wrong, of Lieutenant and Adjutant Cassio, of the Tipperary Crushers, to get drunk and kick up a row, which he confesses that he did, in the following lines, to the tune of "Kiss me quick, and go :"—

> "The other night while we were drinking
> We all got screwed as flies,
> We came to blows and fought like winking,
> And I bunged up Roderick's eyes.
> I did not know the Colonel knew it,
> For drinking was forbid,
> When I heard his footsteps on the stairs.
> And what do you think he did,
> He took the adjutancy from me."

But if Cassio does get drunk, does that make the play immoral, as it was affirmed? Here, again, some thought that the cause of morality was rather served than otherwise, because Othello sings, in chorus :—

"Get out of my way, Mr. Cassio,
You'll soon see if I don't smash you.
Get out of my way, Mr. Cassio,
You'll soon see if I don't smash you."

Clearly showing that drunkenness in an officer might lose him his commission. 'The Irish Othello,' however, fell into disrepute, and was withdrawn from the Tien-Tsin stage, regretted by a large number of the garrison.

"I tell you what, Tom," one soldier-servant said to another, "'Othello' an't to be acted any more, cause Shakespeare's plays isn't moral."

There is not much to offend in the following songs, while they give a specimen of the Tien-Tsin operatic talent:—

OTHELLO AND BRABANTIO.

AIR—*Nelly Bligh.*

Brab. Othello, low fellow, O you barefaced thief,
You've been and gone and stab my child,
And I shall die of grief.
You took advantage of her sex,
You knew that she was rich,
And in a pot of double X her senses did bewitch.
Othello, low fellow, &c. &c.

Oth. Brabby, why pipe your eye, don't you be a goose,
The thing is done, we're man and wife, and grumbling is no use;
You'd better far shake hands with me and give up all this law;
'Tis true you've lost a daughter, but you've gained a son-in-law.

Brab. No, fellow, low fellow, oh you barefaced thief,
I'll have you up before the mayor,
And you'll be brought to grief.

OTHELLO AND CHORUS.

AIR—*Lucy Long.*

Oth. The alderman he liked me, and I liked his port wine,
And often he invited me at half-past six to dine;
And sometimes after dinner, as Miss Desdy sot between,
I talked to him of battle-fields that I had never seen.
And sometimes after dinner, &c.

I told him how at Badajos I took an Armstrong gun,
And how I stormed the great Redan and made the Russians run.
I told him how in China, too, as strong as ancient Milo,
I cut off Sangolinsin's tail and made his army "whilo."
Chorus—I told him how, &c.

Oth. To hear me tell those little fibs Miss Desdy would incline,
So on that hint I spoke and she declared she would be mine.
She'll have a thousand pounds some day and I'm as poor as sin;
She loves me for the *brass* I've got; I love her for her *tin*.
Chorus—She'll have a thousand, &c.

The men required all the watchful care that could be bestowed upon them to keep them from the temptations of that most vile of intoxicating drinks, "Samsho." A most powerful spirit, which maddens as it intoxicates, and in the piercing cold of the winter, and the depression which always follows a campaign, it was no easy matter to prevent men from drinking it: every house in which it was proved to have been sold to our men was pulled down by the Provost-Marshal, but still it was sold, and one native of "Italy," when remonstrated with by the captain of his company for drinking such abomination, the very smell of which was enough to turn you sick, replied, "Oh, captain, darlin, did you ever taste it with a drop of hot wather and a grain of sugar?"

"The natives," with their quaint ways and curious use of English, and French also, afforded a good deal of amusement to the men for some time: while their manners and talk with the natives amused us not a little; at Charing Cross market the vendor of fowls and game persisted in calling them "feesh," inviting you to buy, by saying "my much" feesh, "eight piece one dollar;" or if he thought you were a Frenchman, "Combieno feesh, sacre mille combieno." The Gaul generally picked up a few Chinese words, while the British soldier was contented to talk English in a loud voice, or if he tried the other, he generally gave an English commentary on the Chinese text. Thus, soldier *loq.*: "I say, my man, there's no use, you see, in your talking to me, because I don't understand your language, but just you listen to what I say to you; if you don't bring lots of 'suiah,' that is plenty of water; 'ming tien,' that's to-morrow morning, at six o'clock, I'll just knock saucepans out of you, that's all; now "woilo,' *i.e.* 'go away.' "

The troops had abundance of occupation, the guards were numerous, and there were fatigues of various sorts, route-marching twice a week, and in early spring we had brigade field-days, in the plain on the south side of the town; upon one occasion there was a Tartar general of high rank at Tien-Tsin, he had been engaged at the forts, and was rather proud of the honour of having been defeated by us; and it happened just then that the Victoria Cross was to be presented by Brigadier Stavelly to Lieutenant Heath-

cot, second Battalion 60th Rifles, who had distinguished himself very much at Delhi on several occasions, and had thus reaped the highest reward which a soldier can earn.

The presentation was to take place in presence of all the troops in garrison; a parade was ordered accordingly, and the Tartar general hearing of it, expressed a wish to attend, which was, of course, complied with; and a curious scene it was, a number of Chinese magnates accompanied him, some in chairs, with the usual crowd of attendants, and the General himself mounted on a Tartar horse, while some of his aide-de-camps rode mules. One does not expect to see a warrior clothed in blue satin furred and wadded, down to his heels, and loose satin "dittos," but so he was attired with his peacock's feather, &c., &c., all complete, and very short stirrups. When informed of the presentation that was to take place, he at once concluded that the cross had been won at Takoo, and that Mr. Heathcot had been the fortunate individual who had blown up the magazine in the North Fort, and asked if it were not so, and seemed rather disappointed when he was informed that his acts of bravery had been performed elsewhere.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Ice breaks up—Unhealthiness of the Climate—Brown's Stories—A Pair of Ducks—Policy of the Pekin Court—Home Policy—Prudence—Campaigning—China open to Trade—"The War Party"—Lord Elgin—The Hospital at Tien-Tsin—Missionary Work.

TIME wore on and wearily, oh how wearily! about the 15th of March the ice broke up, and it was a fine sight to see it go crashing down the rapid river, and right welcome too, because now we were to be again in communion with the outer world. Soon the sun became hot, too hot to go out in the middle of the day, and then it began to get fatal, and all the diseases that are induced by it appeared; the hospitals filled and overflowed, more hospital accommodation was taken up, and the "healthy climate of North China" with which we had been deluded at home turned out to be as great a myth in summer as we had found it to be in winter. At one period, about the middle of July, we lost as many as ten men in a day, which, in proportion to its usual garrison, is a number that never has been reached at Hong Kong. A draft of about 200 men belonging to the second Battalion 60th Rifles, which had been at Hong

Kong since the previous December, or rather encamped in tents at Kowloong opposite to the town of Victoria, lost but one man in six months, and he had been for a long period an invalid, as I have been informed. This draft arrived at Tien-Tsin, and in less than three months no less than ten of their number fell victims to the climate.

The Commander-in-Chief, Sir John Michel, arrived from the South in July, and upon consultation with the Ambassador at Pekin, it was determined that Fane's Horse, one battery of Artillery, the Military Train, and 2nd Bàttalion 60th Rifles, should leave Tien-Tsin in the autumn, some for India, and some for "home, sweet home;" and that the 31st, 67th, and one battery of Artillery (French's), should form the garrison of Tein-Tsin for the winter.

Great was the joy among those who were destined to leave the North of China. We would have done or submitted to most things, short of being tried by court-martial, to get away.

There was a man in the —th Regiment of the name of Brown; he was a facetious fellow, and the men of his company were frequently in the habit of asking him to tell them stories. "Come, Brown, tell us a yarn, will you?" was an invitation he frequently received. Like most popular characters he was coy, and required nearly as much persuasion as a young lady does to sing. "I don't know no stories." "Yes, you do." "No, I don't." "Yes, you do; tell us about the ducks." · "Oh, about the

ducks, yes: why, you see, this was the very way that happened.

"I was servant to Captain —— for a long time, and we got on very well; I was very comfortable, till what should he do one fine day but go and get married. Well, you see, that altered things a good deal, for when there's a lady in the quarters she always wants twice as much done as a master does, and I didn't like how things was going on; so I up and I says to the Captain one day as I'd like to go back to my duty."

"'No,' says he, 'Brown,' says he, 'I shall n't send you back to your duty, you've been so long with me now,' says he, 'and I don't feel as if I should get on comfortable without you now.'

"Well, that didn't do me much good, so things rubbed on a while longer in the same way, till one day there was a pair of ducks for dinner, and there was a mutton hash, and the ducks wasn't touched hardly, for the Captain ate the hash, he always liked it, somehow; and in the evening I was sitting along with Elizabeth the cook, and I says to her, 'I wish,' says I, 'as I was back again with the company, the place is not the same since Missis come into it; but the Captain, he won't let me go to my duty.'

"'Won't let you go,' Elizabeth says; 'well, if I was you, I'd soon make him let me go, and glad enough, too. I'll tell you what to do,' she says. 'You just take them pair of ducks as is in the larder, and eat 'em up, and you'll be at your duty to-morrow.'

"Well, I got the ducks; I warn't very hungry, but I ate 'em up; I didn't leave as much as would feed a beetle on their blessed bones; I scraped all the stuffing out of the inside, lads, and then I left their carcases on the dish on the shelf. Well, the Captain, he was always an early man, and he comes out in the morning in his dressing-gown, to see about breakfast. 'Elizabeth,' he says, 'what's for breakfast? I tell you what, Elizabeth,' he says, 'I think as a leg of them ducks as was at dinner yesterday, if it was grilled, wouldn't be a bad thing for breakfast.'

"'Ducks, sir,' says Elizabeth, 'there ain't none left, sir.' 'None left,' says the Captain, 'why, they wasn't touched.' 'No, sir,' says Elizabeth, 'no more they wasn't, at table, sir, but then Brown had them for his supper arter, sir.'

"Them ducks did the business for me; Elizabeth was right, I was bundled off to my duty fast enough that very morning."

We would have eaten any amount of ducks to have been sent away from Tien-Tsin.

"Thank Providence," said my friend Jones to me one day, "they never can send us to so bad a quarter again, and as to sending us further off, that's impossible; for if they send us any further away, we shall be nearer home." (Jones's mother was an Irishwoman.) The prospects of those who remained were none of the brightest, indeed; bad as the previous winter had been, great as had been the dearth

of amusement, how much more dull would it be when so large a portion of the garrison had been removed; I rejoiced that I was not to be among the number of those left in penal servitude.

Those who are unacquainted with all the intricacies of the politics of the Pekin court are not, of course, in a position to form the best opinion upon the subject; but to plain soldiers it seemed that a couple of gunboats was all that would be required to remain in or near the Peiho in order to keep up our communication with Pekin. In winter the Chinese could not rebuild the forts, as the mud would not adhere in frost; and when the river is open they could not do so if two gunboats were at the Peiho mouth. Moreover, we argued that two regiments and a battery could be of no use whatever as an aggressive force, as they could not march ten miles out of their barracks with safety. To keep open the way to Pekin this force was not requisite; and to advance, or make any movement, except to hold the key of Pekin, the force was quite inadequate. Thus in our ignorance we argued, but "Dis aliter visum."

As to the soundness of the policy which eventuated in the Chinese expedition, there can be no doubt upon the mind of any one who has made himself acquainted with the case, and who views it apart from all connection with sectional politics. We had been wearied and nauseated by the falsehood, treachery, and overbearing insolence of Chinese officials

in the South, far removed from the seat of Government; we thought that such vice could not exist at the fountain-head; that the spring itself must be at least comparatively pure, although the waters far from the source had contracted such evil, and to the fountain of authority we determined at length to penetrate; we had no option between that course and the abandonment, not only of our Chinese trade, but of the political prestige of England abroad, if not at home, and the giving up of that mission of religion and of civilization in that vast empire, with which we seem to have been endowed by Providence; that such abandonment would only have opened the field to other of the European powers more adventurous and less scrupulous or more far-sighted than ourselves, was apparent.

It had, in short, become manifest to all those whose interests gave them a keen perception of the state of affairs between England and China, that it was impossible for amicable relations to exist between the two countries while the latter kept no faith, and evaded every obligation, and the former was obliged to submit to such treatment, alike degrading to her own honour, and destructive of her commercial interests.

The unfortunate repulse which we experienced at the Takoo forts in '59, much as it was to be deplored in every way, was, however, productive of this benefit, that it filled the mind of the English nation with a firm determination to avenge the defeat of their

arms, and to chastise the falsehood of the Pekin Government. And thus the expedition of 1860, being quite in accordance with the feeling of the British nation, the Government could prepare for it in a manner suitable to our own dignity, to the magnitude of the interests at stake and the objects in view, unshackled by party opposition. Everyone who has been in China of late years, or who has made himself informed of the mode in which state craft is practised there, must have learned that the Pekin Government rarely if ever learns the truth, even as to their own internal affairs, from the governors of far-distant provinces, that *couleur de rose* is the only tint they make use of: and if this is true as to the home policy it is even more true as to foreign.

Such a system occasionally eventuates in the loss of a head, but then the loser calculates on that, and playing his head against place and wealth, if he loses he has simply lost the game; if he wins, he retains his high position, with all its luxuries. That we were therefore bound by the motives of the most ordinary prudence, bound for peace sake, for our own honour sake, even for the spread of civilisation, and for the sake of the cause of our religion, to insist most firmly upon a free entrance for our Minister into Pekin, I cannot see the shadow of a doubt, and I believe that this one point would never have been really yielded unless the Government of China had been taught to feel that it was not in their power to prevent it.

Backed by the whole force of public opinion at home, our authorities prepared an expeditionary force, worthy of the nation and fitted to perform its work, and they may well reflect with satisfaction upon its complete success. The force was not so large as to be cumbrous, and large enough to secure a sufficient supply of troops for at least one campaign, the country has already pronounced its opinion of the Commander-in-Chief, and his success speaks for itself. The two Generals of Division were chosen with equal judgment, and the former services both of Sir John Michel and Sir R. Napier fully warranted the choice, and the staff, as I have already said, was, on the whole, all that could be desired to secure the performance of its important duties.

There was an abundant supply of medical men, under the able direction of an experienced Inspector-General of Hospitals, and the supplies placed at his disposal were more than ample for all the contingencies that could arise, and having had ample opportunities of observation, both during the campaign and in the subsequent residence at Tien-Tsin, I never saw any deficiency in the medical arrangements, or in the attendance to the wants and comforts of the patients.

Campaigning in a country of whose resources we were entirely ignorant rendered the commissariat arrangements very difficult and involved, as it was impossible to know beforehand what it was necessary to supply, and what provisions we might expect to

find upon the spot; and it was desirable to avoid the cost of transporting stores which might not be required, while it was needful to provide against every contingency. That department also was greatly encumbered by the provision which it was necessary to make for the natives of India who composed such a large portion of our force, and who required, both from religious "views" and national habits, food of a peculiar character. All this, I believe, was as well done as it could have been.

I have already said that the energy and skill of the Admiral was the admiration of every one who was aware of the amount of the personal work which he went through; and he was certainly most ably seconded by all under his command, while the rare concord which prevailed between both branches of the service, and the harmony in which they worked together, while it was owing no doubt to the high principle of both chiefs, was felt to be especially due to the urbanity and self-command of Sir H. Grant.

That benefits of vast importance to England and to China are likely to result from this expedition is manifest. The most fertile part of all China, the great valley of the Yanktsekiang is now open to our trade, and already numbers of steamers of light draught of water are speeding up and down its broad waters, carrying our merchandise into the heart of that vast continent, while the tea and silk which found its way before by slow and uncertain means of

transit to the ports can now descend with speed, and thus anticipate by months the date of former markets. The full benefit of this open trade cannot, however, be felt until some settlement of the great rebellion takes place, which, unhappily, rages chiefly in this most important and fertile district.

Some part, I believe, we shall soon be obliged to take in this struggle. If the present Dynasty *can* stand it may be needful that we should support it against its foes, in order to secure our own interests; but it may not be impossible that a sudden *coup* might place the supreme authority of the empire in the hands of the insurgents, along with the seat of government, and then, according to our universal policy, we must recognize the powers which exist.

The latest news which we have received from China is of the most satisfactory character. Our old enemies, "the War-party," have been dismissed from office, and Prince Kung, who has been for some time our friend, is now at the head of affairs, so that so long as the present ministry lasts we may be secure of friendly relations with the empire, more especially as the "opposition" have, according to the regime in China, lost their heads along with their posts, there is no danger of their "coming into power" again in their own persons; and, unless we become involved with the rebels, or some unforeseen event disturb further the government of the country, I believe that we may look confidently for the continuance of peace with the empire, and such a peace as

we have never known before, fraught, I would hope, with good to them, and very soon to repay us two-fold for the expenses of the expedition by the increase of our commerce and the stability of our relations with that empire.

Of one thing I feel certain that the moral impression produced upon the mind of the country has been highly favourable, although our visit was of a hostile character. The firmness displayed by Lord Elgin, under circumstances of a most trying and embarrassing character, must have impressed them with an idea of our dignity and strength. The perfect good faith which was observed by the Plenipotentiary—when faith was broken with us in the most flagrant manner, and all international law had been trampled upon, as well as the open and above-board character of all his dealings—could not but exhibit a picture of truth and honesty to their mind which must have struck even their faculties, obtuse in their perceptions.

I have already said that the dealings both of our officers and men with the natives were marked not only by strict justice and propriety, but by moderation, kindness, and charity. This was no doubt owing to the strongly-expressed views of the Commander-in-Chief; but we must not forget the good feeling which, I maintain, pervades our army as largely as any other body of men in the world, when it is properly called forth and directed. So marked was this throughout the whole campaign, that some

officers of a more severe school maintained that we did not make the war half disagreeable enough, and thus our moderation only tended to prolong the contest.

Too great praise cannot be given in this matter both to the Commander-in-Chief and to the army, and the good fruit of such conduct was manifest in the gratitude of the natives, and the abundance of the supplies which they brought in. There were occasions, of course, upon which it was a matter of necessity to seize upon private property, but that was chiefly where no owner presented himself from whom it could be purchased. Yet, at the same time that we respected both their rights and feelings, the army very properly refused to submit to anything like undue self-assertion, or what is vulgarly called "cheek," upon the part of the vain celestials, and I have upon various occasions seen with satisfaction, a Mandarin and his chair overturned in the street, when he dared to call upon a British officer to make way for him.

A hospital was established at Tien-Tsin by private subscription for the natives of the town and district; and notwithstanding the arduous duties which they were called upon to perform in their own regiments, Dr. Lamprey of the 67th took charge of it, and was ably seconded by Dr. Young of the 60th Royal Rifles. Not to dwell upon the amount of personal relief from disease (often of long standing, and totally incurable by native skill), which was thus afforded to thousands,

and every humane person must rejoice in such a result, the moral effect upon the minds of all the inhabitants was very great. It manifested to them that whatever our motives might be in our descent upon their shores, and of which they could hardly be expected to form an adequate estimate, they were not unmingled with kindness and goodwill to themselves; as such tangible proof of this was given to them by our unrequited efforts for their bodily welfare.

That a good foundation has been laid by our last Chinese expedition for future missionary exertions in the country I fully believe; a certain amount of respect for us, which shall render such labours at least tolerably safe, must be secured; I think that this has been done, and all friends to that great and most important cause may rejoice in the fact; it remains for us now to use proportionate exertions in order to reap the vast extent of harvest-ground which has been thus opened to us. And I conceive that no more fitting thank-offering could be given to that Great Power which directed and prospered us in this matter than a renewed and more vigorous exertion in this great cause, upon our part.

I have but one word to say of a personal nature, and that is to express my sense of the kindness and consideration which I met with from many with whom I was brought in contact during the war. It was with heartfelt sorrow that I took leave of the Headquarter Staff, my companions during the cam-

paign; and I found a home afterwards with the Second Battalion of the 60th Royal Rifles with whom I lived for nearly a year at Tien-Tsin. I hope that I shall never forget the brotherly kindness which I received from the officers of that corps.

THE END.

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